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## The Flow of Colonists To and From Indiana Before the Civil War<sup>1</sup>

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Indiana was once a colony of the United States government as truly as the old thirteen colonies were ever colonies of England. While the colonial status disappeared politically in 1816, economically and socially a colonial condition prevailed almost, if not quite, to the Civil War. The population at the time of admission, according to the territorial census of 1815, was but 63,897, and the regions occupied were those bordering on the Ohio and the lower Wabash, and lying in or adjacent to the Whitewater Valley.<sup>2</sup> By far the greater part of the new state was yet to be reclaimed from the Indians and colonized by settlers from older States and foreign countries. In 1840, there still remained in Indiana, 4,396,494 acres of unsold land belonging to the Federal government.<sup>3</sup> Certainly there was nothing more important in the history of the State than the process of colonization which continued till the vacant lands

<sup>1</sup>The first census of the United States to report the birth-place of all the white and free-colored inhabitants is that of 1850. Some years ago Professor Frederick J. Turner began to reveal to his students in the University of Wisconsin the great significance of the facts furnished by the nativity statistics of this and succeeding census. The main purpose of this short paper is to supply the readers of the Indiana Magazine of History with the valuable figures made use of in the accompanying tables, inasmuch as they are not accessible to many teachers of history.

<sup>2</sup>Dillon, *History of Indiana*, p. 555.

<sup>3</sup>Report of Senate Committee on Public Lands, 1840. (For table copied from this report, see *Niles Register*, 60:23.)

were exhausted, about the time of the outbreak of the Civil War. Indeed, it was then true and for some years longer, that many parts of the State were in a frontier condition.

In the period under consideration, Indiana, along with other western communities in a similar stage of development, was a veritable "melting pot." Into it came colonists from widely separated parts of the older portion of the United States, and from western Europe.<sup>4</sup> Out of these diverse elements, with their different customs, traits of character, and ideals, there was built up a new society. The heat produced by the contact and conflict of different elements of the incoming colonists with each other, and of all elements with their physical environment, was not sufficient to reduce all customs and institutions carried in to a fluid condition. The resulting social structure was not, therefore, homogeneous, but to a considerable degree conglomerate. In our own day, evidence is abundant, in many communities of the State, that the early population came predominantly from North Carolina, or from Pennsylvania, or from New England, or from some other special locality, as the case may be, showing the tenacity with which forms of speech, neighborhood customs, and household ways cling to one generation after another, often in the face of powerful forces.

The census of 1850 shows Indiana to have had a total white and free-colored population of 988,416.<sup>5</sup> Of this number, 541,079 were born in the State, and the remaining number, or 45.2 per cent, were born outside the State. There were living in Indiana at the time 176,575 persons born in slaveholding States. The greater portion of these had come from the three States, Kentucky, Virginia and North Carolina.<sup>6</sup> A great many of the 68,651 born in Kentucky were, of course, children of settlers who had earlier migrated to that region from Virginia and North Carolina. It is well known that southern colonists came to Indiana in force earlier than colonists from other sections, so that it must be true that among the 541,079 persons born in the State, more than a proportionate number were born of southern parents.

Up to 1850 New England had not sent many settlers direct to Indiana. This section had found an outlet in western New York and in Ohio, at first, and later in Michigan, in northern Illinois,

<sup>4</sup> See Table I, below.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

in Iowa, in Wisconsin. In the period when New Englanders came to northern Indiana many more passed on to Illinois, the total number born in New England and living in the latter state being 36,542 in 1850, while in that year only 10,646 New Englanders were living in Indiana.<sup>6</sup> There were, of course, many among those giving New York or Ohio as their birth-place whose parents had migrated from New England.

New York, with vacant areas of great extent within her own limits in 1790, did not send great numbers of colonists westward as early as did Pennsylvania, Virginia and the Carolinas.<sup>7</sup> When the period of westward migration from New York did come her colonists, like those from New England, tended to settle in States adjoining Indiana rather than within her borders. For example, of persons born in New York there were living in Indiana in 1850 24,310; in Illinois 67,180; in Ohio 83,979; in Michigan 133,751.<sup>8</sup> Pennsylvania, from which great numbers of colonists went forth even before the Revolutionary War, played a large part in western colonization. The number living in Indiana in 1850 who were born in Pennsylvania was 44,245, being slightly in excess of the number from Virginia and exceeded only by the contributions of Ohio and Kentucky.

In each of the non-slave-holding western States save Ohio the conditions were obviously unfavorable to migration into Indiana. Of the 126,700 persons born in the non-slave-holding West, outside of Indiana, and living in that State in 1850, 120,193 were born in Ohio. So rapid had been the development of the first State carved out of the Old Northwest Territory that long before 1850 numerous colonists were leaving for Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and other western areas where choice lands could more easily be secured, and where other opportunities for success seemed more abundant.

The foreign population of Indiana in 1850 was not very great, only 54,426 persons of foreign birth being then residents of the State. Of these about 30,000 were from German States and about 20,000 from the British Isles. Not only Ohio but even Illinois was far ahead of Indiana in the number of foreign inhabitants. Ohio had about four times as many foreigners as Indiana with less than

<sup>6</sup> *Census of 1850*, Compendium, pp. 116-117.

<sup>7</sup> Channing, *History of the United States*, III, p. 528 (map).

<sup>8</sup> Figures not found in Table I, below, are from the *Census of 1850*, Compendium, pp. 116-117.

twice the total population, while Illinois had more than twice the number of foreigners, with a total population of about 135,000 less than Indiana.<sup>9</sup>

The census of 1860 shows changes in the flow of colonists to Indiana during the fifties.<sup>10</sup> The number of persons born in slaveholding States and living in Indiana in 1860 was 15,140 less than in 1850. In other words, the number of southerners coming into Indiana between 1850 and 1860 and remaining there to the time of the taking of the census or longer was 15,140 less than the number required to balance the loss by migration and death of southerners who were living in the State in 1850. This is clear evidence that the great migration of southerners to Indiana was over before 1850. Between 1850 and 1860 New England gained slightly, while the Middle States and Ohio gained greatly in their contributions to Indiana's population. In the same decade the State's foreign population increased from 54,426 to 118,184, the per cent of gain being 117 as against 36.6 for the total population. In 1860 the total number born outside of Indiana and living in the State was 42.6 per cent of the entire population, whereas in 1850 the same element was 45.2 per cent. This is evidence that the State was maturing. The free-colored population of Indiana was 11,262 in 1850, and but 11,428 in 1860. The hostile provisions regarding free-colored persons proposed by the Constitutional Convention of 1850-51 and ratified by the voters of the State in 1851 were evidently effective in preventing the increase of this element in the population.

As an offset to the great numbers of colonists coming into Indiana before the Civil War the State was furnishing colonists to other States and Territories.<sup>11</sup> The bulk of these colonists had settled in Illinois, in Iowa and in Missouri. In 1850 but 92,038 natives of Indiana lived elsewhere in the United States. By 1860 this number had increased to 215,541, another evidence that the State was maturing. Nearly all of our States that matured before the disappearance of the frontier have passed through three stages of development relative to receiving and losing colonists: a first stage when many come in and few emigrate; a second stage when the number of emigrants is relatively great; a third stage when the number

<sup>9</sup> In 1910, the foreign born population of Indiana was 159,663; of Ohio, 598,374; of Illinois, 1,205,314; of Michigan, 597,550; of Wisconsin, 512,865.

<sup>10</sup> See Table I, below.

<sup>11</sup> See Table II, below.

either entering or leaving is small.<sup>12</sup> Indiana was entering on the second stage in 1860 while the older southern States, including Kentucky and Tennessee, that had in earlier decades furnished enormous numbers to colonize new areas, had passed into the third stage.

Before and at the time of the admission of Missouri into the Union the older southern States were pouring colonists into every part of the West of that day, into the Northwest, into Missouri and into the Southwest. Then the New England States and New York were not doing much toward colonizing any areas to the west of Ohio. Then the old Northwest was, like Missouri, receiving, not sending out, colonists. Between 1854 and 1860, when the peopling of Kansas began, the old Northwest was mature enough to participate. The census of 1860 shows 4,208 persons born in New England States and living in Kansas; 13,245 born in the Middle States; 27,440 born in the slave-holding States; 33,417 born in the five States of the old Northwest. Up to the taking of the census of 1860 Ohio had sent the largest number into Kansas of any State in the Union, the number being 11,617; Missouri was third, with 9,945; Illinois was fourth, with 9,367.<sup>13</sup> It was the old Northwest that won the fight in Kansas, and both Illinois and Indiana did better than Ohio in proportion to population.

TABLE I

Nativities of the population of Indiana<sup>14</sup> (white and free colored).

Birthplace	Census of 1850	Census of 1860
Slaveholding States (totals)-----	176,575	161,435
Kentucky -----	68,651	68,588
Virginia -----	41,819	36,848
North Carolina -----	33,175	26,942
Tennessee -----	12,734	10,356
Maryland -----	10,177	9,673
South Carolina -----	4,069	2,662
Delaware -----	2,737	2,301
All others -----	3,213	4,065

<sup>12</sup> The exceptions are states like New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Illinois, where large cities developed, based on the growth of commercial and manufacturing interests and as a consequence receiving great numbers of immigrants from other states and Europe.

<sup>13</sup> *Census of 1860, Population Volume*, pp. 616-619.

<sup>14</sup> *Census of 1850, Compendium*, pp. 116-118; *Census of 1860, Population Volume*, p. 130.

Birthplace	Census of 1850	Census of 1860
Middle States (totals)-----	76,392	96,267
Pennsylvania -----	44,245	57,210
New York -----	24,310	30,855
New Jersey -----	7,837	8,202
New England States (totals)-----	10,646	12,307
Vermont -----	3,183	3,539
Massachusetts -----	2,678	3,443
Connecticut -----	2,485	2,505
All others -----	2,300	2,820
Western States and Territories [non-slaveholding] (totals) -----	126,700	185,710
Ohio -----	120,193	171,245
Illinois -----	4,173	7,925
Michigan -----	1,817	3,701
All others -----	517	2,839
Foreign Countries (totals)-----	54,426	118,184
Germany <sup>2</sup> -----	29,324	66,705
British Isles -----	19,847	36,139
France -----	2,279	6,176
British America -----	1,878	3,166
All others -----	1,098	5,998
Born in, and living in Indiana-----	541,079	774,721
Birth-place unknown -----	2,598	1,804
Total population of the State-----	988,416	1,350,428

<sup>2</sup> Austria included.

TABLE II

Natives of Indiana living in other States and Territories.<sup>15</sup>

Dwelling-place	Census of 1860	Census of 1850
Illinois -----	62,010	30,953
Iowa -----	57,555	19,925
Missouri -----	30,463	12,752
Ohio -----	11,009	7,377
Kansas Territory -----	9,945	-----
Kentucky -----	7,883	5,898
Wisconsin -----	5,158	2,773
California -----	4,639	2,077
Michigan -----	4,482	2,003
Minnesota -----	3,604	35
Texas -----	3,478	1,799

<sup>15</sup> *Census of 1850, Compendium, pp. 116-118; Census of 1860, Population Volume, p. 616.* (Figures include Whites and Free Colored.)

Dwelling Place	Census of 1860	Census of 1850
Colorado Territory -----	2,587	-----
Arkansas -----	2,554	2,128
Oregon -----	2,497	739
Nebraska Territory -----	1,993	-----
Tennessee -----	1,086	769
All others -----	4,598	-----
 Totals -----	215,541	92,038
Born in Ohio but living in other States and Territories -----	593,045	295,449 <sup>16</sup>
Born in Illinois but living in other States and Territories -----	134,736	45,889 <sup>16</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Appended for purposes of comparison and contrast.

## The Academies of Indiana\*

By JOHN HARDIN THOMAS, A. M., Superintendent of Schools,  
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### CHAPTER III. THE FRIENDS' ACADEMIES

#### BLUE RIVER ACADEMY

The Blue River Academy was located three miles northeast of Salem, Washington county. It was organized in 1831 by the Society of Friends of Salem, who originally came from North Carolina. The first building was made of brick. The present building, a one-story frame, was built in 1861. It has two rooms 25 x 30 feet each, a library and recitation room, 15 x 20 feet, and two cloak rooms, 10 x 15 feet each.

The following is a fairly complete list of teachers who have taught in the academy: 1837-38, Joseph Trueblood and Barnabas C. Hobbs, assistant; 1838-39, Barnabas C. Hobbs and Samira B. Lindley, assistant; 1839-40, Benjamin Albertson, four and one-half months; 1848-49, Aquilla Timberlake, Jane Moore and Joanna Morris; 1849-50, Aquilla Timberlake, and Abram Trueblood, assistant; 1850-51, Timothy Wilson, and Catherine Trueblood, assistant, four months; 1851-52, Joseph Moore, four months; 1852-53, Cyrus Bond, and Abagail Wilson; 1853-54, Abram Trueblood, and Calvin Moore, assistant, and Abagail Wilson, summer term; 1854-55, Luther B. Gordon, Nathan White, and Elizabeth Albertson in the summer school, and Semira B. Truesblood, assistant; 1855-56, Abram Trueblood, and Abagail Wilson, assistant, attendance, 87; 1856, Emeline Trueblood, and Rebecca Trueblood, assistant, summer school, 40 students; 1856-57, Abram Trueblood, and Emeline Trueblood, assistant, 92 students; Abagail Trueblood, summer school, three months, 46 students; 1857-58, Nathan Newby, and Isaac Fawcett, assistant, average attendance, 65; Robert Style, summer school, attendance, 29; 1858-59, Robert Style, and Emeline Trueblood, assistant, four months; Emeline Trueblood, and Amanda Trueblood, assistant, three and one-half months; 1859-60, Abram Trueblood, and Marietta Albertson, assistant, four months; Sarah

\* Concluded from the last number.

Lewis, summer term; 1860-62, Calvin W. Pritchard; 1862-63, Thomas Armstrong, Dorcas Armstrong, and Sarah Trueblood; Dorcas Armstrong, summer school; 1863-64, Thomas Armstrong, and Alice Armstrong, assistant; 1864-65, Thomas Armstrong, and Hannah Roberts, assistant; 1865, spring term, Calvin Pritchard, and Mrs. Calvin W. Pritchard, assistant; fall term, Amanda Trueblood; 1865-66, Calvin W. Pritchard, Miles Trueblood, Anna M. Pritchard, and Samuel Lloyd; 1866-67, Joseph R. Hunt, and Angelina Harvey, and 1867-68, William P. Pinkham, and Lydia Stanton. Prof. W. P. Pinkham was principal of the academy from 1867 to 1873, when he resigned to take charge of the school at Paoli. Sylvanus Wright was principal in 1873-74; Angie Hough, 1874-75; Albert H. Votan, 1875-77; Roland Ester, 1877-78; John Boyd, 1878-79, and Amos Sanders from 1879 to 1881.

During Professor Pinkham's term there were over 100 students. Two of these who attained distinction are Joseph Moore, deceased, ex-president of Earlham College, and Benjamin Trueblood, secretary of the International Peace Association.

In 1861, the course of study consisted of orthography, reading, writing, descriptive and physical geography, mental and practical arithmetic, English grammar, physiology, philosophy, chemistry, astronomy, algebra, composition and phonography.

After 1860, the length of the school terms were usually nine months. School began at 8:30 A. M. and closed at 4:00 P. M. The academy had a good library and was well equipped for its day.

The academy continued until 1881, a period of fifty years. In 1896, the township trustee, Lewis Dennis, established a township high school in one of the rooms, but this was abandoned in 1904, when the township joined in with the town of Salem in high school affairs. A private high school was organized in 1904, which continued until 1909. Since 1909, the building has been used by the common schools of the district.<sup>25</sup>

#### THE WHITEWATER ACADEMY

The city of Richmond has been rich in private schools and academies. There were not less than five academies that either sprang

\* Letters and data by Supt. U. B. Lindley, Salem, Ind.; letter by R. E. Cavanaugh, Salem, Ind.; letter by C. M. Hobbs, Bridgeport, Ind.; catalog by Blue River H. S., Salem, Ind., 1906-07; *Indiana School Journal*, 1873.

up or grew out of other schools and existed for short periods of time. I do not know whether any of them ever bore a distinctive name throughout its history, but for my purpose I have given each one a name in order to distinguish it from the others.

The Whitewater Monthly Meeting of Friends began the first organized movement in education here in 1810. A log meeting-house was built where the present brick church now stands, on the corner of North Tenth and G streets. This was also used as a school house and was open to all of the children of the community. Robert Brittain taught the first school here in 1811-12.

In 1836, the Friends erected a two-room brick school house on the lot south of the old meeting-house. Here Isaac Hiatt conducted the first high school in Richmond. Instruction was given in the higher branches, including chemistry and surveying.

In 1843, Barnabas C. Hobbs, of Cincinnati College, took charge of the Whitewater school. He taught about four years and was very successful. He was succeeded by William Haughton and Dr. William Marmon, assistant, in 1846. Other early teachers were Jesse Stanley and Daniel Clark.

In 1856, Hiram Hadley, later principal of the Hadley Academy, took charge of the Whitewater school and conducted a high school or academy for seven years. He was succeeded by Erastus Test, Matthew and Eliza Charles, Mary Burson, assisted by Wilhelmina Bell Jones, and by Lydia and Jennie Burson, who taught the last Friends school in this building.

In 1873; the board of school trustees rented the building for public school purposes. In 1878, the board purchased the property from the Whitewater Monthly Meeting. In 1888, the Mather Brothers bought the building and turned in into an office building. In 1910, the building was burned.<sup>36</sup>

#### BLOOMINGDALE ACADEMY

The Bloomingdale Academy was located at Bloomingdale, Parke county. It was organized by the Society of Friends in 1846, and was then known as the Western Manual Labor School. It was in charge of a committee appointed by the Western Quarterly Meet-

<sup>36</sup> Elsie Marshall, *History of the Richmond Schools*, in the Report of the Public Schools of Richmond for 1912; also letter of Elsie Marshall, Richmond, Ind.; letter of C. M. Hobbs, Bridgeport, Ind.

ing of Friends, of which James Siler, Exam Morris, William Pickard, Solomon Allen, and Alfred Hadley were the most prominent members.

The Manual Labor School was originally intended to be a school for both sexes in which the students might get a good liberal education, and at the same time pay all or a part of their expenses by work on the farm or in the shops. There were about forty acres in the grounds. A suitable building was erected, was burned in 1848, but was soon rebuilt. The plan soon proved to be impracticable on such a small scale and had to be given up. All but fifteen acres of the land, now contained in the campus, was sold and the name of the school was changed to the Western Agricultural School. It continued under this name until 1860 when it was changed to the Friends Bloomingdale Academy.

Harvey Thomas, the first principal, had charge of the Manual Training School until it was changed to the academy.

In 1851, Barnabas C. Hobbs came from the Boarding School at Earlham and took charge of the academy. For the next twenty-one years while he was principal, Bloomingdale became an educational center of a wide range of territory and men, and hundreds of students received their life training and education here. The attendance in 1861-62 was 148, of which 33 were in the Academic Department, 49 in the Intermediate Department, 21 in the Elementary Department and 35 in the Commercial Department.

Some of the principals who followed Professor Hobbs are: Seth Hasby, Thomas A. Armstrong, Josiah Edwards, D. N. Dannis, 1884; Hiram Hadley, 1885; A. F. Mitchell, 1888, and Caroline M. Hill, 1910.

There is a long list of the alumni of the academy extending back over sixty-eight years. Among the most noted ones are: Hon. Joe Cannon, in the 40's; Wallace N. Trueblood, 1869, professor of literature, Earlham College; Edwin Morrison, 1884, professor of physics, Earlham College; Robert L. Kelley, 1884, president of Earlham College; William Hill, 1887, director of the Agricultural Department, Bethany College, W. Va.; Harlow Lindley, 1893, professor of history and political science, Earlham College; Herschel Coffin, 1897, professor of psychology, Earlham College; Walter G. Glee, 1900, professor of physics, Agricultural College, Kansas, and Clyde Allee, Ph.D., 1902, professor of biology, Williamstown, Massachusetts.

There are at present four buildings which belong to the academy. The main building, the gymnasium, the manual training shops and Dennis hall. The class work is done in the main building. Dennis hall contains the science and domestic science departments. The school has an extensive library, and in 1880 possessed an endowment fund of between six and seven thousand dollars. It is still controlled by the Quarterly Meeting of Friends but no distinction is made between students with respect to religious beliefs.<sup>37</sup>

#### SPICELAND ACADEMY

The Spiceland Academy is located at Spiceland, Henry county. As a Friends school it has continued over a period of eighty years.

In 1833, Mr. Robert Harrison began the first Friends school in Indiana. In 1859, Oliver H. Bales and Martha Bales organized an academic department in connection with the primary and grammar departments. Rhetoric, algebra, natural philosophy and astronomy were taught in the grammar department, and trigonometry, surveying and mental philosophy were taught in the academic department.

In 1870, the State granted a charter for the academy to Clarkson Davis, who was then superintendent.

A complete list of superintendents in chronological order is as follows: Oliver H. Bales, 1859-63; Clarkson Davis, 1863-67; Edward Taylor, 1867-68; Clarkson Davis, 1868-74; Timothy Wilson, 1874-76; Clarkson Davis, 1876-82; Thomas Newlin, 1882-83; Tomothy Wilson, 1883-84; William P. Pinkham, 1884-85; Thomas Newlin, 1885-92; J. Frank Brown, 1892-93; Arthur W. Jones, 1893-94; George W. Neet, 1894-98; Mary S. Wildman, 1898-01; M. S. Woods, 1901-03; Homer H. Cooper, 1903.

In 1871, a two-story brick building was erected. Later this was doubled in size. This building was used until 1913, when a commodious and modern building, with all the modern conveniences was erected. The academy is beautifully situated among the maple groves that characterize the surrounding hills and valleys. The campus contains about eight acres. The west half of it is devoted

<sup>37</sup> *History of Parke and Vigo Counties*, 277-8; *Announcement of Friends Bloomingdale Society*, 1903-04; also letter of C. M. Hobbs, Bridgeport, Ind.

to athletic games, while the east half of it contains many beautiful trees.

The academy is equipped with a library of about 3,000 volumes, and files of the current magazines, all of which is open to the public. About 3,500 students have attended the academy since 1870. The alumni association now enrolls 433 persons.

The academy has a certificate of equivalency granted by the State and the course of study and text-books conform to the State requirements. In addition to the regular high school subjects, courses are offered in manual training, domestic science, nature study, and the Bible. It is controlled by the Spiceland Monthly Meeting of Friends. The school is co-educational and has a nine-months' term. The board of trustees seeks to employ only those teachers who are qualified both in character and ability to do effective work in the line of ideals and purposes of the academy. On this account it has always maintained a high moral and intellectual standard.

Former students of the academy are scattered from coast to coast. Many of them have attained success and eminence in the various professions and lines of work. Among the most prominent ones are the following: Richard G. Boone, professor of pedagogy, University of California; Thomas Newlin, president of Whittier College; John C. Reed, dean of the University of Michigan; W. O. Barnard, U. S. representative and ex-judge, Newcastle, Indiana; Oscar Baker, superintendent of schools, Winchester, Indiana; Walter E. Bundy, minister to Mexico; Elgar Pennington, surveyor and civil engineer; Herbert T. Bailey, banker, Spiceland, Indiana; Rupert Redic, lawyer, El Paso, Texas; Virginia G. Cory, principal of Spiceland Academy; Walter B. Harvey, physician, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; Charles Smith, Haverford College, and Elbridge Stewart, business proprietor Carnation Condensed Milk Company.

Since 1903, the academy has been in charge of Homer H. Cooper. Two-fifths of the entire number of graduates have graduated in the last ten years. In 1901, there were four teachers employed in the high school. The school enrollment was twenty-seven boys and sixty girls. The number of graduates were eight boys and ten girls. The property was then valued at \$15,500.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Letter of Homer H. Cooper, Superintendent Spiceland Academy.

## AMBOY ACADEMY

The Amboy Academy is located at Amboy, Miami county. It was founded in 1871, by the Amboy Monthly Meeting of the Society of Friends. Some of the leaders in the movement were: Dr. John A. Baldwin, Robert Ridgeway, Enos Pearson, Oliver H. Canady and Benjamin B. Lamb.

The old building was erected, at different times, in three parts. In 1871, the Friends built the two-story brick part which now forms the north wing. It contained two good sized school rooms, two recitation rooms, and had two stairways, one for the boys and one for the girls. In 1878, Jackson township built the two-story brick addition which forms the east wing. In 1910, the town of Amboy and Jackson township, jointly, built the two-story brick addition connecting the two wings. This was then used for joint graded school and high school purposes. It was destroyed by fire March 9, 1910, and since then a new modern building has been erected, which still bears the name of Amboy Academy.

The Amboy Academy grew out of a desire among the Friends to provide a school for higher education at home so that their young men and women would not have to go to the Spiceland Academy or to Earlham College for such privileges.

The academy was opened in the fall of 1871, with Seth G. Hastings, a graduate of Earlham College, in charge of the academic department, and his wife, Edith Hastings, in charge of the primary department. It was conducted under a joint arrangement between the Friends church and Jackson township. The church donated the use of the building and ran the academic department, while the primary department was run as a public school by the township. Professor Hastings was succeeded by Daniel W. Haydock as principal, 1872-73; Charles V. Moore, 1873-74, and Irvin H. Cammack, 1875.

The academy was continued under the control of the Friends church until 1880, when it was merged into a joint graded and high school by the town of Amboy and Jackson township.

There were from forty to sixty pupils enrolled in the academy, and many of these became teachers. Mr. George I. Reed, editor of the Peru *Republican*, and at one time school examiner, often referred to Amboy as "The Athens of Miami County." The course

of study was practically the same as that of the other Friends schools of the State.<sup>39</sup>

#### CENTRAL ACADEMY

The Central Academy is located at Plainfield, Hendricks county. It was organized by the Society of Friends in 1880. Among the founders of the academy were, Barnabus C. Hobbs, Ellis Lawrence, Charles O. Newlin, John Morgan, Amos Doan, John Moore, John Kendall, T. J. Charlton, Ellis Branson and Benjamin Vestal.

It had its origin in the desire of the leading citizens to establish a high school where ambitious young people might prepare for college without going away from home. It was believed that if the movement proved a success that the citizens would subscribe \$45,000 for the erection of a suitable building.

The academy was opened in the fall of 1881, with Erastus Test as principal. The town hall, a two-story frame building with two rooms, was donated and furnished with sixty good new students' desks. The school was a success. Early in 1882, the necessary \$45,000 was subscribed and a new two-story brick building was erected just east of Plainfield and south of the National road.

Dr. Test was succeeded in June, 1883, by Joseph Roads. About this time the building was burned and the present building was erected. It is a five-room, two-story brick with a basement, and stands on a beautiful campus of above five acres of ground.

Professor Rhodes was succeeded in order by Robert L. Kelley, 1894; Charles D. Marley, Benjamin Kelley, Otis Stanton, Charles E. Cosand, Charles L. Stubbs, E. T. Albertson, 1911; Albert Hall, and Simon Hester, the present principal of the academy.

Some of the most distinguished students of the academy were: John P. Hornady, of the Indianapolis *News*; Prof. Addison Webster Moore, professor of philosophy, Chicago University, and Prof. Allen D. Hale, of Earlham College.

The academy is equipped with a library of 250 volumes, including history, science, Language and literature, valued at \$375. It has laboratory apparatus for physics valued at \$450, and domestic science equipment valued at \$175. The course of study is coordinate to the high school course required by the State. The school is co-educational and the length of the term is nine months.

<sup>39</sup> Letter and article by Jonathan Pearson, Amboy, Ind.

The academy is still owned and maintained by the Plainfield Quarterly Meeting of Friends. C. M. Hobbs, a nephew of Barnabas C. Hobbs, is president; Alice B. Charles, secretary, and B. W. Anderson, treasurer.<sup>40</sup>

#### FAIRMOUNT ACADEMY

The Fairmount Academy is located at Fairmount, Grant county. It was organized in 1884 by the Fairmount Quarterly Meeting of Friends. It is situated in the northwestern part of the town, on an elevation, which is conducive to good physical development as well as to intellectual and moral growth. It is surrounded by a beautiful campus. The building has been enlarged and now has all the modern equipment.

The course of study includes: English, Latin, German, Greek and Roman, European and American history, civics, algebra, geometry, physical geography, botany, chemistry, physics, agriculture, music (vocal and piano), drawing, domestic science, psychology and pedagogy and Bible study. Some of these are electives. Agriculture may be substituted for Latin or German. There are at present nine teachers in the faculty.

The academy is provided with a permanent endowment fund of over \$23,000. This assures in part its stability in the future. The library is the gift, principally, of Iredell B. Rush, of Columbia City, Indiana. The academy now holds the rank of a secondary school as approved by the State Board of Education, and according to the law the entire tuition of all transferred pupils must be paid by the township trustee. It is still owned and controlled by the Quarterly Meeting of Friends, but it is always open to all who desire a higher education. The school has been a success. The graduates now number about 370 and have increased from two in 1887 to forty-four in 1913. It has a Students' Christian Association, a Literary Society and a strong Alumni Association.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Letter of C. M. Hobbs, Bridgeport, Ind.; letter of Dr. Erastus Test, Lafayette, Ind.

<sup>41</sup> Catalog of Fairmount Academy, 1913-14.

## CHAPTER IV. THE METHODIST ACADEMIES

## WESLEY ACADEMY

It was highly appropriate that the first Methodist academy in the State of Indiana should be named after the founders of Methodism. The Wesley Academy was located at Wesley, Montgomery county. It was built from private subscriptions by the M. E. church in 1850. A paper was circulated by Mr. Sant Gray, and in a short time sufficient funds were raised to start the work.

Two buildings were erected. One a recitation hall, a two-story frame structure, 65 x 45 feet, and the other, a dormitory, a two-and-one-half story frame building with twenty-two rooms.

The course of study consisted of the three "R's" grammar, algebra, geography, and history. Some of the texts that were used were *Ray's Arithmetic* and *Algebra*, *Pineo's Grammar* and *Swin-ton's History*. There was no library in the school, but there was a small township library, and this was used occasionally. The other equipment of the school was very limited. The school term usually began in September and continued about eight months, ending in March or April. On an average, there were from 100 to 125 pupils in attendance. The old dormitory was always full of students. Many of the older people of the county attended the academy in their youth, and a number of men and women of prominence graduated from it. A number of foreign students were enrolled there.

Some of the teachers were: John Holloway, Addison Crear, Joseph Crear, Edward Rhodes and a Mr. Harvey.

The academy prospered for about eight years, then political troubles, due to the Civil War, caused it to be abandoned. Years ago the old academy building was torn down. The old dormitory was used for a number of years afterward for a basket ball hall. In recent years it has been remodeled and is now used for a barn.<sup>42</sup>

## THORNTOWN ACADEMY

The Thorntown Academy was located at Thorntown, Boone county. It was founded in 1854, by Rev. John L. Smith, under the control of the M. E. church. There were pledged \$2,500, a

<sup>42</sup> Letter from Supt. Otis E. Hall, Crawfordsville, Ind., with data from Mr. J. S. Zuck, Wesley, Ind.; *Crawfordsville News-Review*, Dec. 30, 1913, article by Mr. J. Stout Zuck.

lot was purchased and a two-story, six-room building was erected in 1855. The old building stood on the site where the present building now stands.

The academy opened in 1855, with Rev. Levi Tarr as principal and Miss Low Cooper as assistant. Reverend Tarr was succeeded in 1857 by Charles N. Sims, later chancellor of Syracuse University, New York. Prof. C. H. Smith was assistant from 1858-60 and principal from 1860-64. In a letter concerning the academy he said that in the spring of 1861, when Fort Sumpter was fired on and the Civil War broke out, about twenty-five of his fine young men volunteered and his school was almost broken up. On account of the war there were no graduates in 1863 and 1864.

In 1861, there were 342 students, 7 seniors, 26 in the middle class, 170 juniors, 53 intermediates, and 86 in the primary department. The board of trustees consisted of Rev. William Campbell, W. T. Wheeler, John L. Smith, Oliver Craven, Baltzer Kramer, M. D.; Allen Zount, James Miller, W. W. Weekly, Joseph Cones and Jeffery Horner.

John Clarke Ridpath, the historian, was assistant to Professor Smith, and succeeded him as principal from 1864-67. He was followed by Rev. W. O. Wyant in 1867, and by John B. Rows in 1868, when the academy was merged into the present high school. The building was used for this purpose until 1883 when it was torn down and the present building was erected.

The course of study included the common branches, higher arithmetic, algebra, geometry, trigonometry, surveying, Latin, Greek, literature, history, physics, chemistry, mental and moral philosophy, analogy and the evidences of Christianity.

The school was co-educational. The school year was divided into three terms and continued for nine months. School began at 8:30 A. M. and closed at 4:00 P. M. The academy was equipped with a small library and some physical apparatus.<sup>43</sup>

#### ROCKPORT ACADEMY OR COLLEGIATE INSTITUTE

The Rockport Academy or Collegiate Institute was located at Rockport, Spencer county. It was organized in 1857 by Revs. Dr. E. H. Sabin and Dr. H. S. Talbott, and other prominent men of

<sup>43</sup> Letter of Supt. G. E. Long, Thorntown, Ind.; letter of Prof. O. H. Smith, Greencastle, Ind.; *Indiana School Journal*, 1861, p. 340.

the Methodist Episcopal church. The funds were raised by private subscription. The capital stock was fixed at \$20,000, divided into shares of \$20 each. The trustees elected in 1858 were J. W. B. Moore, E. Pyeatt and William Jones. Dr. H. S. Talbott was agent. The campaign for subscriptions continued through the year 1858 and most of the stock was subscribed for.

The work on the building was begun in 1858, but it progressed slowly and the cornerstone was not laid until July 11, 1859. It was hoped that the building might be ready for use by September 1, 1861, but in the meantime the Civil War had begun and the repeated calls for money for the academy, in those days of hard times and great excitement, were met by calls for volunteers for the preservation of the Union. The latter calls were for a time the more popular and work on the academy ceased. The movement was kept alive, however, and largely due to the influence of Gen. James C. Veach and Thomas F. DeBruler it was completed in 1863.

The building is a brick structure, 50 x 70 feet, three stories high, with a large bell-tower on top. It contains eight rooms. Hallways running north and south separate the rooms on the east from those on the west. It stands near the center of the double square between Sixth and Eighth streets, facing Walnut street on the north. The buildings and grounds were valued in 1865, at \$31,000. The campus contains about five acres and is well shaded with beech and maple trees.

In September, 1863, the school was opened and the name was changed to the Rockport Collegiate Institute, but it has generally been known by either name. Prof. W. S. Hooper, of the Rome Academy, was the first principal with this sister, Miss Sue Hooper, as assistant. At that time only two rooms had been finished for school purposes. The enrollment at the beginning was 50, but it increased to 87 by the end of the first term, and to 135 by the end of the year. The schools was equipped with a \$425 piano, a set of philosophical apparatus costing \$500, and a small library.

In 1866, Professor Hooper was succeeded by Prof. C. H. Smith, A. M., of the Danville Academy, with Prof. John W. Webb, A. M., and Prof. William F. Gillmore, A. M., as assistants. The enrollment during this year was 197. The school was co-educational. Young ladies were graduated from a full college course, and young men were prepared for the university.

In 1866, a frame addition was built to the academy building

which served for a dining room and kitchen. This was designed for students who came from a distance. It was used until about 1878 when it was torn down.

In 1868, there were five members in the faculty, and 165 students were enrolled. The tuition in the college classes was \$10 per term.

In 1870, Professor Smith was succeeded by Dr. C. Culley, A. M., of Kentucky, who was principal until 1873. The course of study then consisted of a two-year preparatory college course, and a three-year academic course, equivalent to our present high school course, including analogy and the evidence of Christianity.

Educationally, the Collegiate Institute was among the foremost of the State. From it many of the old citizens of Rockport, and others, were graduated. From there they went to Depauw University or to Indiana University. Like many of the other academies, however, it was a failure financially. The common schools and the free high school system became more popular and the institute rapidly declined in influence.

In 1873, the Indiana Conference found itself in debt on account of the institute, about \$1,800, which indebtedness was secured by a mortgage upon the building and grounds. No effort was made to pay it off, although the debt was not great in proportion to the value of the property. The building, grounds, and equipment were sold to the town of Rockport for \$9,800. The \$1,800 indebtedness was paid on and the balance, \$8,000, was ordered to be distributed pro rata among the stockholders and donors.

The building is still standing, in good condition, and has been used for the high school since 1873.<sup>44</sup>

#### THE BLOOMINGTON FEMALE COLLEGE AND ACADEMY

The Bloomington Female College and Academy was founded by the Methodist Episcopal church in 1855. It was opened in the church building, and Rev. T. H. Sinex was the first president. He resigned in 1856, and was succeeded by Rev. M. M. Tooke, A. M., president and professor of intellectual and moral science; Samuel L. Bankley, A. B., professor of ancient languages and mathematics; Mrs. L. P. Tooke, M. P. L., adjutant principal and teacher of mod-

<sup>44</sup> *History of Warrick, Spencer and Perry Counties*, 405; letter of Prof. O. H. Smith, Greencastle, Ind.; letter of Mrs. Fred Walker, Rockport, Ind.; *Indiana School Journal*, 1868.

ern languages and ornamental branches; Miss Sarah A. Purdy, M. P. L., teacher of natural science, and assistant teacher of English branches, and Edmond Jaeger, professor of instrumental and vocal music.

The course of study was as follows:

Primary—Orthography, reading, and mental arithmetic.

Model School—Orthography, reading, elementary grammar, mental arithmetic, penmanship, primary geography, and history.

Academic—United States history, elements of physiology, geography, composition, grammar, and arithmetic.

#### COLLEGIATE DEPARTMENT

First Year—Analytical grammar, anatomy, and physiology, composition, elementary algebra, ancient history, modern history, botany, and elements of Latin and French.

Junior Year—Algebra, natural philosophy, domestic economy, chemistry, rhetoric, natural theology, geometry, logic, and French, Latin, and Greek as electives.

Senior Year—Geometry, evidence of Christianity, science of government, plane and spherical trigonometry, German, elective, mental philosophy, geology, physical geography, elective, moral philosophy, elements of criticism, astronomy, Latin, and Greek.

#### Tuition and Extras—

Primary Department, per term	\$ 3.50
Model School, per term	5.00
Academic Department, per term	6.50
Collegiate Department, First Year, per term	8.00
Collegiate Department, Junior Year, per term	10.00
Collegiate Department, Senior Year, per term	11.00
Oil Painting, per term	12.00
Music and Piano, per term	10.00

A large college boarding house was kept on Sixth street between Walnut and Washington streets. In 1858, A. D. Lynch succeeded Rev. Tooke as president. He continued with satisfactory success until the Civil War, when the academy was permanently closed.<sup>45</sup>

#### DANVILLE ACADEMY

The Danville Academy was founded by the Methodist Episcopal church in 1858. It was opened in the old seminary building, a two-story brick structure with five rooms. It was located on lots 2 and

<sup>45</sup> *History of Morgan, Monroe and Brown Counties*, 475.

3 in block 9, on the north side of Main street. It was built about 1829.

In 1856, Jesse F. Matlock, who held a claim on these lots, secured possession of them by a judgment of the court, and the seminary was moved into a new frame building just across the street, which had been built for the purpose.

In 1859, the Methodist Episcopal church bought the academy building from Jesse F. Matlock, and in about 1861 or 1862, they erected a three-story brick building immediately in front of it, which forms with the old part the shape of an "L." The entire building then contained about sixteen rooms and a large chapel which was used for religious purposes.

Rev. Levi Tarr was the first principal from 1858-63, assisted by Mrs. A. C. Tarr, Miss Cynthia Cason, and Miss Amelia Campbell.

In 1864, Prof. C. H. Smith, formerly principal of the Thorntown Academy, became principal, assisted by James Johnson, Mrs. Charlotte Thompson, and Miss Wells. Miss Belle Morrison was teacher of music. Professor Smith was succeeded by Professor Lumis and his wife in 1867, and they remained in charge until it was closed in 1868.

The academy was equipped with a small library and some physical and chemical apparatus. The course of study was practically the same as that of the Thorntown and Rockport academies, and was designed to prepare students to enter Asbury College. Some of the texts that were used were *Anthony's Latin Books*, *McClin-tock's Greek*, and *Loomis's Mathematics*, including algebra, geometry and trigonometry. The school term was nine months in length, beginning in September and ending in June. It was co-educational.

Some of the students who have since gained distinction are: John V. Hadley, of the Supreme Court of Indiana; R. B. Blake, of the Supreme Court of the State of Washington, and Enoch G. Hogate, dean of the Indiana University Law School.

After the academy closed in 1868, the Methodist Episcopal church continued to use the chapel for religious services until the new church was completed on South Washington street in 1878. In that year the Central Normal College was removed from Ladoga to Danville, and since then the academy building has been used by the college. The building is still in a good state of preservation and has been remodelled some on the inside. It is surrounded by

a beautiful campus, shaded with maples, cedars, and other forest trees. This was one of the few of the old academies that was so firmly established that the building not only still stands as a monument, but even the spirit of the academy has been kept alive and growing in power and influence with the years.<sup>46</sup>

## CHAPTER V. THE BAPTIST ACADEMIES

### ORLAND ACADEMY

The Orland Academy was located at Orland, Steuben county, about ten miles northwest of Angola. It was founded by the Baptist church in 1850. It was first known as the Northeastern Literary Institute. The early settlers of Orland came from Vermont and brought with them the free school ideas of the New England people.

Among the founders of the academy were Captain Samuel Berry and Elder E. R. Spear. The school prospered from the beginning. Professor Hutchinson was the first principal, 1851-52. He was followed by Prof. Samuel Harper, A. M., of the University of Michigan, 1853-54; by G. W. Gibson, 1854-58; by John Barnhard and wife; by Professor Poole and wife; by B. F. Fost; by Professor Gillespie, 1860-65; by Prof. G. W. Neihardt, A. M., 1864-68, and by L. O. Williams.

Although the academy was organized by the Baptists, it was not maintained as a denominational school. On account of the intense desire for higher education it was attended and supported by the whole county.

The course of study included the common branches, higher arithmetic, algebra, geometry, surveying, oratory, penmanship, book-keeping, natural philosophy, chemistry, physiology, botany, Latin, Greek, German, French and history. Some of the text-books were *McGuffy's Readers*; *Ray's and White's Mathematics*; *Welsh and Kerl's Grammar*; *Mayhew's Bookkeeping*; *Wilson's History*; *Woodbury's German*; *Fasquell's French*; *Andrew and Stoddard's Latin*; and *Gray's Botany*. The length of the school year was ten months, divided into three terms.

<sup>46</sup> Letter and data from Prof. C. A. Hargrave, Danville, Ind.; letter and data from Prof. E. G. Hogate, Bloomington, Ind.; letter and data from Prof. O. H. Smith, Greencastle, Ind.

The academy was co-educational. The average attendance was about 120. Some of the most prominent students were Judge A. A. Chapin, J. H. MacGowan, LL. D.; Charles Aldrich, assistant attorney-general under President Harrison; P. R. Dickinson, consul, Leipsic; William Brown, attorney, and Judge F. O. Merrit.

The academy continued to prosper until the Civil War began, when three of the teachers and many of the male students responded to the call to arms. From that time it gradually declined until in 1878 it was converted into a township high school.<sup>47</sup>

#### GLENDALE ACADEMY

The Glendale Academy was located near Buffaloville, Spencer county, in about 1850. The movement was started by the Baptists of Buffalo who organized an association for the purpose of purchasing a tract of land near the village of Buffalo, and erecting thereon suitable buildings, to equip them with proper furniture and apparatus, and of keeping and maintaining a high school. By the articles of association, it was to be known as the Glendale Academy, and was to be under the control of the Evansville Association of United Baptists. The capital stock was not to exceed \$100,000, and was to be divided into shares of \$20 each. The organization was to be considered complete when \$3,000 of the stock had been subscribed. The stock was soon subscribed.

The institution was to be managed by a president and nine trustees, three of whom should be appointed by the Evansville Association of Baptists.

The contract was let for the erection of a building, workmen were employed, and the work progressed until the walls were built. The stockholders who had subscribed the funds refused for various reasons to pay up and the work was abandoned.<sup>48</sup>

#### MITCHELL ACADEMY

The Mitchell Academy was located at Mitchell, Lawrence county. It was founded by the local Baptist church in 1860. The building was a two-story brick, with three large recitation rooms

<sup>47</sup> *History of Steuben County*, 455; letter from Supt. O. A. Fleming, Orland, Ind., with data from Prof. G. W. Neihart.

<sup>48</sup> *History of Warrick, Spencer and Perry Counties*, 412.

and one large assembly room. It stood on the site where the present Baptist church now stands.

The academy was organized by Mr. and Mrs. Simpson Burton, as principal and assistant, and with J. K. Howard, also an assistant. They remained in charge of the academy until it closed in 1868.

The course of study consisted of the common branches, algebra, geometry, surveying, Latin and Greek, and was intended for a college preparatory course.

There were enrolled in the Academy from 100 to 200 students. Among those who have since gained distinction may be mentioned ex-Senator Joe R. Burton, of Kansas. Upon the death of the principal, Professor Burton, in 1868, the school closed. The building was used for a Baptist church until it burned in 1902.<sup>49</sup>

## CHAPTER VI. THE CHRISTIAN ACADEMIES

### HAW CREEK ACADEMY

The Haw Creek Academy was located about two miles south of Ladoga, Montgomery county. It was founded by the Christian church in 1838. A log house, 30 x 50 feet was built, which served as a church and school house combined. The building stood north and south. The pulpit was in the north and between the two doors. The south end had a raised floor. A partition, which was made in sections and fastened by hinges to the ceiling, divided the room into two equal parts. For church purposes the partition was folded up so as to make one large room, while for school purposes the partition was let down, making two rooms.

The academy opened about the middle of September, 1838, with James Fanning, a college graduate, as principal, and his wife, a graduate of a female seminary, as assistant. Professor Fanning taught the boys in the north room, and Mrs. Fanning taught the girls in the south room. Although the academy was open to both sexes it was not co-educational. The boys and girls were kept as separate as if they had attended schools in different buildings. The sentiment of the community in those days was bitterly opposed to co-education and this fact almost doubled the expense of education and made a graded system almost impossible.

<sup>49</sup> Letter of Supt. R. M. Tirey, Mitchell, Ind.

The academy lasted only one year. Financial difficulties arose and overwhelmed the institution.<sup>50</sup>

#### LADOGA ACADEMY

The Ladoga Academy was located at Ladoga, Montgomery county. It was organized by the Christian church of Ladoga in December, 1856. The funds for the academy were raised by private subscription. Five acres of ground were purchased and a building was erected at a total cost of about \$6,000.

The academy was opened, to males only, in the fall of 1858, and was at first known as "The Male Academy." R. M. Johnson was the first principal and Jesse Waldon assistant. The academy ran smoothly for the first year; then religious dissensions arose which not only materially weakened the Male Academy but seriously injured the Female Seminary as well. The histories of these two schools are so interwoven on account of the petty jealousies and religious strife, that the history of the one can not be detailed without referring in part to the history of the other.

The Christian church had failed in its first attempt to found an academy at Haw Creek in 1838; the Methodists had founded the Wesley Academy at Wesley in 1850; the Presbyterians had founded the Waveland Academy at Waveland in 1849; and the Baptists undertook to found a seminary for girls at Ladoga in 1855. They erected a brick building for the seminary, and a two-story frame structure with a basement for a girls' dormitory. The seminary was equipped with philosophical and chemical apparatus. The grounds, buildings and equipment cost about \$10,000. The seminary was opened in the fall of 1855, with Gibbon Williams, superintendent in general; his daughter, Emily, as principal; his other daughter, Jennie, his son, Daniel, and his cousin, as assistants. His wife was matron of the girls' dormitory. Miss Mary Crane was teacher of music and drawing, and Miss Mary Bell was teacher of writing.

Originally the seminary was intended for girls only, but in order to make it self-supporting, boys were admitted from the beginning. The first year the seminary was a success. A movement was then started for the founding of a school for boys only, which resulted in the establishment of the Male Academy by the

<sup>50</sup> W. L. Anderson, *Early History of Ladoga*.

Christian church. It appears to have been pretty generally understood and agreed to by both churches that the Baptist Seminary was to be open to girls only, and that the Christian Academy was to be open to boys only, and that both denominations should patronize both schools. The Baptists had the better of the bargain since they were fewer in number and would profit most by the mutual exchange of students. The Baptists were charged with bad faith, however, in sending their boys to the Baptist college at Franklin rather than to the Male Academy. On January 1, 1859, the stockholders of the academy, after a financial failure the year before, met and voted 114 to 20 in favor of admitting girls to the academy. As a result fifty-five girls entered the following Monday. This was done to relieve the financial difficulty just as the seminary had done four years before when it admitted boys. The stockholders of the academy who were opposed to the change withdrew their boys from the academy, and these with others from the seminary and some who returned from Franklin College were organized into a male school held in the Baptist church. Later a house was fitted up for the school and Jennie Williams was made principal.

As a result of this sectarian strife all three of the schools were in bad condition by the end of the year 1859. Mr. Williams, disgusted and disappointed, resigned from the seminary. Mr. Johnson, after a wrangle with the trustees over his salary, left the academy in debt \$3,500. The Baptist school for boys proved a failure and was soon abandoned. The academy and seminary both continued for a number of years and both were co-educational.

For the next four years the seminary was in charge of Professor Bailey, assisted by his sister, Miss Clara Perkins, Miss Clara Smith and the Dyer sisters. They came from the Eastern States and were well qualified teachers for those days. During the next seven years it seems to have died a lingering death under the supervision of Messrs. Hill and Smith, and Vaughter and DeBolt.

In 1859, Professor Young was principal of the academy. He was succeeded by Professors Campbell and Goodwin. The academy was still in debt \$3,500 and would have been sold had not Milton B. Hopkins assumed the debt on condition that the property was to be his if he should succeed in cancelling the debt. For six years he conducted the most successful school ever held at Ladoga, but in the end it proved a failure financially and he abandoned the enterprise. The school lingered on a year or two longer under

A. H. Moore and his home force of teachers, but about this time the common school wave struck Ladoga and, like many of the other academies, it went down before it.

The course of study was practically the same as that of other academies of its day—the common branches and a college preparatory course.

In connection with the academy there were two literary societies, the Adalphian, for boys, and the Floridian, for girls. A special room in the academy was set apart for their meetings in which debates, orations, essays and poems were given. At the close of each year the two societies gave an exhibition which became a prominent feature in the life at Ladoga.

In concluding the history of the academy one can not help but feel that if the vast amount of money spent for education at Ladoga had been spent in the support of one co-educational, nonsectarian school, the result might have been far more successful and gratifying.<sup>51</sup>

## CHAPTER VII. THE UNITED BRETHREN ACADEMIES

### HARTSVILLE ACADEMY

On April 3, 1847, the citizens of Hartsville, Bartholomew county, met to formulate plans for building a new school house. It was decided that the building should be a two-story frame structure 25 x 50 feet, and should be located in the center of the public square. The building was to be used for school purposes, religious worship, and for all lawful meetings of the citizens. The contract was let by public outcry to the lowest bidder November 25, 1847.

About this time the Indiana Conference of the United Brethren church was seeking a location for establishing an educational institution. A meeting of the voters of the district was held, and it was proposed that the new building be surrendered to the United Brethren on condition that their conference should complete it and use it for educational purposes. The proposition was accepted and the transfer was made May 26, 1849.

On January 12, 1850, the institution was chartered under the

<sup>51</sup> W. L. Anderson, *Early History of Ladoga*.

name of the Hartsville Academy. It was in charge of a board of twenty-seven trustees, which constituted the faculty of the academy. The academy had the power to grant degrees in the sciences and arts the same as other colleges and universities in the United States.

The academy was opened in May, 1850, by Prof. James McD. Miller, A. M., Indiana University, 1849. Near the close of the year the White River Conference agreed to co-operate with the Indiana Conference in the support of the school. In the fall of 1852, the support of the Wabash and St. Joseph Conferences was secured, thus uniting all of the conferences of the State in its support. Seven years later the two latter conferences withdrew to build schools in their own territory, and for twenty-two years it was supported by the Indiana and White River Conferences. In the autumn of 1881, the North Ohio Conference joined, and was followed the next year by the Michigan Conference. It then embraced the territory of southern and eastern Indiana, northwestern Ohio and southern Michigan.

By act of February 8, 1851, the name was changed to the Hartsville University. The names of the incorporators of the academy, as given in the act of January 12, 1850, are:

Joseph Hener, Christian G. Monch, Jr., John R. Morledge, Wilson Pottinger, Matthias M. Hook, John Huffer, James Wood, William A. Ardry, Elias Huffer, Aaron Davis, John B. Abbot, Davis Huffer, Samuel D. Speers, A. C. Chamberlain, Joel Doolittle, Joseph F. Draper, Henry Bonebrick, L. S. Chittenden, Thomas Elrod, John Lopp, Even Snead, James Conner, Daniel Branham, J. M. D. Miller, Joseph Utter, William B. Witt, and Alexander Long.<sup>52</sup>

#### MANCHESTER ACADEMY

The Manchester Academy was located at North Manchester, Wabash county. It was organized by the United Brethren church in 1889. A ten-acre tract of ground was purchased and on it was erected a brick building which cost about \$10,000. It was equipped with a small library and some laboratory apparatus.

The academy was in charge of President D. W. Howe, A. M. The course of study was similar to that of other academies. The enrollment was from 80 to 100 students.

<sup>52</sup> *Laws of Indiana*, 1850, p. 412 and p. 483; *History of Bartholomew County*, 565-6.

The academy was continued until 1893, when it was merged into the Manchester College. Since then four additional buildings have been erected, the campus improved and beautified, and is now one of the most beautiful in the State.<sup>53</sup>

## CHAPTER IX. THE MENNONITE ACADEMY

### HESSTON ACADEMY

The Hesston Academy is a preparatory department of Goshen College. It had its origin in the Elkhart Institute at Elkhart, Indiana, in 1895.

The school was first opened in the G. A. R. hall and was continued until 1896 when a new building was erected for the purpose. As the school grew, a better location and more extensive grounds were thought necessary. A suitable location was found in the southern part of the city of Goshen. The grounds now included in the campus were purchased, and a college building and a ladies' dormitory were erected.

The academy is owned and controlled by the Mennonite Board of Education. It uses the whole equipment of the college, including a library of 4,500 volumes. It has two regular teachers and eight others who give part time to teaching in it. The attendance is about 75 students.

The work of the academy covers four years and is outlined especially for those who contemplate the completion of a college course. It includes English, voice culture, elocution, German, ancient history, United States history, civics, Latin, algebra, plane and solid geometry, botany, zoology, physics, vocal music, commercial arithmetic, commercial law, shorthand, and the Bible.

The text-books are practically the same as those used in the high schools of the State. The school term is nine months in length. Daniel A. Lehman, A. M., is principal of the academy.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>53</sup> *Manchester College Bulletin*, 1913.

<sup>54</sup> Letter of Paul E. Whitmer, Dean of Goshen College; *Bulletin of Goshen College*, 1913-14.

## CHAPTER X. THE CATHOLIC ACADEMIES

## SAINT MARY'S FEMALE ACADEMY

Saint Mary's Female Academy was located at Vincennes, Indiana. It was organized in 1838, by the Sisters of Charity from the community of St. Joseph's, near Emmitsburgh, Maryland.

The curriculum included English, French, orthography, reading, writing, grammar, practical and rational arithmetic, bookkeeping, geography and map drawing, ancient and modern history, rhetoric, natural philosophy, chemistry, piano and vocal music, drawing and painting, plain sewing, tapestry, embroidering and bead and lace work.

The academy accommodated about twenty boarders and sixty day scholars. The school was governed by the external form of the Catholic church. Private examinations were held at the end of each session and bulletins were sent to the students' parents or guardians informing them of their health, behavior, and improvement. At the close of each year a public exhibition of the work of the students was held and prizes were awarded in the various lines of work.

The school year began about the first of September and ended in August. It was divided into quarters of eleven weeks each. The charges were as follows: board, washing, room, and tuition in any or all the English branches, per quarter, \$25. Extra charges, piano, \$10; drawing and painting, \$5; French, \$5.<sup>55</sup>

## SAINT ROSE ACADEMY

Saint Rose Academy is located at Vincennes, Indiana. It was founded in 1843 by the Sisters of Providence of Saint Mary-of-the-Woods. The building is spacious and complete, well lighted, heated and ventilated, and fitted with all modern conveniences.

It is open to all denominations. The courses of study include a Preparatory Course and a four-year Academic Course, which is equivalent to our ordinary high school course.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>55</sup> The Vincennes *Western Sun and General Advertiser*, Nov., 1841.

<sup>56</sup> *Bulletin of Saint Rose Academy*.

### SAINT AGNES ACADEMY

Saint Agnes Academy is located at Indianapolis. It is conducted by the Sisters of Providence of Saint Mary-of-the-Woods.

The building is a magnificent structure of pressed brick and Bedford limestone, and is equipped with all the modern improvements and conveniences. On the first floor is located the gymnasium, dining room, kitchen and laundry; on the second, the chapel, the reception room, parlors, music rooms, recreation halls; on the third, the art studios, library, study hall, class rooms, science room, and laboratories; on the fourth, are the sleeping apartments, clothes rooms, etc.

The school is open to all denominations. The courses of study include a Preparatory Course, a four-year Academic Course, equivalent to a high school course; a Post Graduate or Special Course; courses in violin, harp, vocal and piano music, and in art expression and in art.<sup>57</sup>

### SAINT JOHN'S ACADEMY

Saint John's Academy is located at Indianapolis. It is conducted by the Sisters of Providence of Saint Mary-of-the-Woods. The building affords accommodations for seventy-five boarders in addition to the large day school in attendance. It is open to all religious denominations. The course of study embraces the primary and intermediate departments, the academic department, commercial department, and department of music. The academic department offers a four-year course which is the equivalent of a regular four-year high school course.<sup>58</sup>

### ACADEMY OF IMMACULATE CONCEPTION

The Academy of Immaculate Conception is located at Oldenburg, Franklin county. It was founded in 1863, by the Rev. Francis Joseph Rudolph, under the auspices of the Sisters of St. Francis.

On April 8, 1885, it was chartered by an act of the General Assembly of Indiana. The main academy building is an imposing four-story structure, built of brick with Bedford stone trimmings, and is strictly fire proof.

<sup>57</sup> *Bulletin of the Saint Agnes Academy.*

<sup>58</sup> *Bulletin of Saint John's Academy.*

The purpose of the academy is "to train, develop and strengthen the physical, intellectual, moral and religious faculties belonging to the nature and dignity of woman."

The scholastic year is divided into two sessions of five months each. Every pupil who enters the academy is expected to take one of the regular courses, Academic, Business, Music, or Art. Besides these an Elementary, a Preparatory and Special Courses are offered.<sup>59</sup>

#### ACADEMY OF IMMACULATE CONCEPTION

The Academy of Immaculate Conception at St. Meinard, Spencer county, dates back to about 1852. It is one of the best equipped academies of the State. The course of study is about the same as that of the other Catholic academies of the State. In addition to the academy there is also located at St. Meinard one of the most famous Monasteries in the country.

Sister Scholisticia is principal of the academy and it is open to all denominations.

#### SAINT MARY'S COLLEGE AND ACADEMY

Saint Mary's College and Academy is located at Notre Dame. It was chartered by the General Assembly of Indiana, February 28, 1855. It is controlled by the Sisters of the Holy Cross.

The academy had a very humble beginning but has made rapid progress until now it ranks among the foremost in the State. Until 1860 the buildings were frame structures which had been moved from Mishawaka and Bertrand. In 1862 the stately brick structure known as the academy was built, and equipped with every convenient and educational advantage available at that time. Besides the academy buildings there are a chapel, a collegiate hall, a conservatory of music, a gymnasium and an infirmary.

The school offers a Primary Course, a Preparatory Course, a two-year Commercial Course, a four-year Academic Course, a four-year Collegiate Course, and Special Courses in pharmacy, Greek, French, German, Spanish, music and domestic science.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>59</sup> *Bulletin of Academy of Immaculate Conception.*

<sup>60</sup> *Fifty-Seventh Year Book of St. Mary's College and Academy.*

## ACADEMY OF IMMACULATE CONCEPTION

The Ferdinand Academy of Immaculate Conception was founded August 20, 1867, by Catholic Sisters from Covington, Kentucky. The academy is in charge of Mother Scholisticia, who has the control over about twenty-six parochical schools.

The courses of study are practically the same as that of the other Catholic academies of the State. The academic course is the equivalent to the ordinary high school course. It is open to all denominations but to girls and women only. The buildings, grounds and equipment is valued at about \$130,000.<sup>61</sup>

## SAINT JOSEPH'S ACADEMY

Saint Joseph's Academy is located at Tipton, Indiana. It was established in 1891 and was incorporated in December, 1903. It is under the direction of the Sisters of St. Joseph.

The buildings are spacious and comfortable, heated by steam, and provided with all modern conveniences. It offers courses in the Primary, Preparatory and Academic Departments, and courses in music, art, elocution and a Commercial Course. The school is open to all denominations. Mother Mary Gertrude is principal of the academy.<sup>62</sup>

## CHAPTER XI. UNCLASSIFIED ACADEMICS

No information could be had concerning the following: Saint Augustine's Academy, Ft. Wayne; Saint Catherine's Academy, Ft. Wayne; Saint Joseph's Academy, Ft. Wayne; Sacred Heart Academy, Ft. Wayne; Holy Angels Academy, Logansport; Saint Gabriel's Academy, Vincennes; Saint Joseph's Academy, South Bend; Saint Mary's Academy, New Albany; Saint Paul's Academy, Valparaiso; Saint Simon's Academy, Washington; Academy of Sacred Heart, Fowler; All Saints' Academy, Hammond; Saint Joseph's Academy, Terre Haute; Franklin Academy, Franklin, Johnson county; McGinnis' Academy, near Owensville, Gibson county; Black River Academy, near Owensville, Gibson county; Gravel Academy, near Owensville, Gibson county; Upper Manchester

<sup>61</sup> *History of Dubois County, 187.*

<sup>62</sup> *Catalog of St. Joseph's Academy, Tipton.*

Academy, northwest of Lawrenceburg, Dearborn county; Lower Manchester Academy, northwest of Lawrencebury, Dearborn county; Brookston Academy, Brookston, White county; Valparaiso Academy, Valparaiso, Porter county; Zionsville Academy, Zionsville, Boone county; Purdue Academy, Lafayette, Tippecanoe county; Aurora Academy, Aurora, Dearborn county; City Academy, Indianapolis, Marion county; New Castle Academy, New Castle, Henry county; Russelville Academy, Russellville, Parke county; Bainbridge Male and Female Academy, Bainbridge, Putnam county; Angola Academy, Angola, Steuben county; Winona Academy for Boys, Winona Lake, Kosciusko county; Union High Academy, Westfield, Hamilton county; Eikosi Academy, Laurel Academy, Rich Square Academy, Buffalo Academy.

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## CHAPTER XII. PIONEER EDUCATORS AND EARLY EDUCATION

BARNABAS COFFIN HOBBS was one of the earliest of the pioneers of academic or higher education in Indiana. He was born near Salem, Washington county, October 4, 1815.

He first attended school in the old log cabin school house which he later described in his "Early School Days in Indiana." After this he studied algebra, geometry, surveying, Latin and Greek in the old County Seminary of Washington county, taught by John I. Morrison. He graduated from the Blue River Academy and began teaching there in 1833.

In 1837 he entered Cincinnati College. Two years later he became principal of the Friends' Boarding School at Mt. Pleasant, Ohio, and remained there for four years.

In 1843 he was married to Rebecca Tatum. The same year he moved to Richmond and took charge of the Whitewater Academy. In 1847 he left Richmond and went to Earlham where he became principal of the Friends' Boarding School, later known as the Earlham College of which he became president.

In 1851 he moved to Bloomingdale and took charge of the Friends' Bloomingdale Academy. Here he remained for twenty-one years, the best period of his life.

In 1866 Governor Oliver P. Morton appointed him a member of the board of trustees of the new State Normal school at Terre

Haute, which position he continued to hold until his death. On account of his educational ability and achievements, Wabash College conferred upon him the honorary degree of bachelor of arts, and the University of Chicago the honorary degree of doctor of laws. He was one of the prime movers in the founding of the State Reformatory for Boys at Plainfield. He was also a very noted minister of the Friends church.

In 1877 he was sent as a member of the Peace Society to Europe where he remained for two years. On his return he made frequent addresses at various conferences on peace and arbitration, the most noted of which was at Washington at the time of the Pan-American Congress. He did considerable work, under the government, among the Indians.

His last years were spent as president of Earlham College, where, broken in health yet full of courage and hope, he gave up the struggle on commencement day, June 22, 1892.

MILTON B. HOPKINS was born in Nicholas county Kentucky, April 4, 1821. Early in life he moved with his mother to Indiana. Here he appealed to his stepfather to educate him, and on his refusing to do it, he left home and educated himself.

In 1838 he founded Farmers Academy in Clinton County. Four years later he was chosen principal of the high school at Lebanon, Indiana, where he remained three years. In 1865 he became principal of the Ladoga Academy where he remained for six years. In 1870 he moved to Kokomo and founded Howard College. His three sons who had recently graduated from college were associated with him in the work. In the meantime he had been nominated for State Superintendent of Public Instruction, and was elected in the fall of 1870. As a State Superintendent he ranked among the foremost of those of his day, and was re-elected in 1872. Overwork, however, soon forced him to give up the duties of his office, and he retired to the foothills of the Ohio in order to recuperate. Here he was seized with a congestion of the brain and died Aug. 16, 1874. An article "In Memoriam," may be found in the *Report of the Superintendent Public Instruction* for 1874.

DR. ERASTUS TEST was one of the leading educators of the Friends Church. He was one of the founders of the Central Academy at Plainfield and was principal there until 1883. From 1883

to 1887 he was an assistant teacher in the Normal School founded by Prof. Cyrus W. Hodgin at Richmond. In 1888 he became the head of the Purdue Academy, a preparatory department of Purdue University, which position he held until 1894 when it was discontinued. From 1894 to 1910 he was Professor of Mathematics in Purdue University. In July, 1910, he was retired, at his own request, on the Carnegie Foundation. He is still living at Lafayette, Indiana, and is very active for a man of his age.

Rev. JOHN MAGILL JOHNSON was born January 9, 1826, about two miles northwest of the town of Big Springs, Crawford county, Indiana. His father, W. B. Johnson, was one of the pioneer district school teachers, having taught from 1821 to about 1865.

At the age of six the son entered the district schools, and at the age of twelve, he and a young man had ciphered through *Pike's Arithmetic*. In 1846, at the age of twenty, he entered Indiana University and graduated with the degree of bachelor of arts in 1851. A few years later the university conferred upon him and his class the honorary degree of master of arts.

He taught his first school in 1847. In 1851 he was licensed to preach and since that time he has been a very active and able minister as well as a teacher.

In March, 1869, he founded Marengo Academy. For the following twenty-five years he devoted his whole soul and body to teaching in the academy and in preaching to his people.

Reverend Johnson is still living at Marengo and is a well preserved man. He is one of the oldest alumni of Indiana University.

Prof. OLIVER H. SMITH is a native Hoosier, born in 1831. He worked his way through college and graduated at the old Asbury College in 1856. The same year he became principal of the Upper Manchester Academy and remained there for two years. The next year the academy burned and was never rebuilt.

From 1858 to 1864 he was connected with the Thorntown Academy, the first two years as assistant and the next four years as principal. He left there in 1864 to become principal of the Danville Academy, where he remained for two years. In 1866 he moved to Rockport and took charge of the Collegiate Institute or Academy. In 1870 he was elected superintendent of the public schools of Rockport.

Twenty years of his life he spent in traveling and teaching and preaching in Arkansas and Missouri. In Missouri he founded the Mayville Seminary and had charge of it for several years.

For the past ten years he has resided at Greencastle where he has been assisting his son in the publication of the *Greencastle Daily and Weekly Banner*. He is "eighty-three years young."

CLARKSON DAVIS was one of the most brilliant and most inspiring of all the early pioneers of education, though nothing of his early life could be learned.

He became principal of the Spiceland Academy in 1863, and with the exception of two intervals in 1867-68 and 1874-76, he had charge of the academy for about twenty years. The best years of his life were spent there, and the high moral, spiritual and intellectual standards set by him in that community of Friends were of countless value to the young men and women of that period who went out from the academy to battle with life.

The last years of his life was a grim struggle against the "white plague." In 1882 he resigned his position at the academy in the hope of regaining his health in travel. He travelled extensively throughout the South and Southwest but to no avail. He died in Louisiana May 26, 1883.

Prof. A. R. BENTON graduated from Bethany College West Virginia, with the degree of master of arts in 1849. The next fall he was chosen as the first principal of Fairmount Academy, where he remained until 1854. In 1854 he was chosen as professor of foreign languages at Northwestern Christian University, Indianapolis, where he remained until 1868. In 1868 he was elected President of Alliance College, Alliance, Ohio. There he remained until 1871 when he was called to Nebraska to direct the establishment of the University of Nebraska. In 1876 he accepted the position of professor of philosophy at Butler College, and continued there until 1910. From 1881 to 1891 he was President of Butler College.

Upon the death of his wife in 1900, Dr. Benton retired from professional life to devote the remainder of his life to the work of the church. He returned to Lincoln, Nebraska, in 1909 and resided there with his daughter until his death January 1, 1914, at the age of ninety-two years.

Although this early period is generally regarded as a period of

ignorance and inactivity in education, such was not wholly the case. Dotted here and there over the State in the most enlightened and progressive communities stood the old academies and seminaries, like the monasteries during the Middle Ages, where the ambitious youths were instructed in the higher branches of learning—courses which were the equivalent and in some respects superior to our present high school course.

In the absence of our free system of common and high schools, the academies had to depend exclusively upon tuition or private donations for their support. On this account many of them early made shipwreck, and almost all of them went down before the great wave of the free public school system which swept over the State from 1852 to 1870.

In many of the communities education was closely allied with religion, and nearly all of the churches, when possible, made some effort to afford facilities for higher education.

The Friends were among the most active in this movement. This may have been in part due to their peculiar religious belief. By the side of their meeting-houses they almost invariably erected a little cabin for a school house. They never patronized the free schools so long as their numbers and means would warrant them in maintaining one of their own, where the discipline and management were entirely under their control.

Back in the early days of the academies we find the first beginnings in agriculture, manual training, and domestic science, all of which we are inclined to consider today as modern school problems. The ideals and principles that they attempted to work out then are practically the same that confront the modern educators of today. This early movement failed because it had to be conducted on too small a scale.

The old academies had an up hill fight from the beginning, but they filled a deeply felt need in education, and their memory is often the most precious thing in the lives of the old pioneers.

## The Indiana State Federation of Labor\*

By RALPH WALDEN VAN VALER, A. B., Superintendent of Indiana University Press

Indiana holds the distinction of having the oldest State federation of labor, in point of continuous existence, of any American commonwealth. The "Indiana Federation of Trade and Labor Unions," known since 1897 as the "Indiana State Federation of Labor," was organized at Indianapolis, September 9, 1885. The idea of forming such a body originated with the members of "International Typographical Union, No. 1," of Indianapolis. It was felt that the time had come when, in many ways, the cause of organized labor could be promoted by the co-operation of all unions in the State through a central body. Co-operation of minor importance had always existed since the first unions were formed, but there was need now to secure more general unity of action. Consequently the Indianapolis printers sent forth a call to all the labor bodies in the State for a meeting to consider the advisability of forming a federation.

The call was responded to by less than a dozen delegates representing "Alpha" and "Armstrong" Assemblies of the "Knights of Labor," "Moulders' Union No. 56," "Cigar Makers' Union No. 33" and "Typographical Union No. 1." All of these organizations were in Indianapolis. From other points in the State there was no representation.

The records of the first meeting were not printed. A certified account of what occurred indicates that a declaration of principles and a constitution were adopted. The former gave as the purposes of the Federation the intention to foster amicable relations between local and central labor unions in the State, to secure general co-operation for the betterment of labor conditions and to obtain such wages as were considered justly due the several classes of workmen.

The constitution provided a form of government and organiza-

\*This paper was prepared in the Economics Seminary under the direction of FRANK T. STOCKTON, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Economics and Social Science, Indiana University.

tion, the details of which will be considered later. Samuel L. Leffingwell of Indianapolis was elected president and Milton G. Farnham, also of Indianapolis, recording secretary. Altogether the first session of the Federation accomplished little beyond perfecting an organization and taking steps for its perpetuation. Yet a spirit of optimism as to the future was aroused, and new ties in the labor world were recognized as having been forged. As President Leffingwell said, "The first meeting was one of happy inter-change of feeling and opinions and great hopes were entertained of good results to come from future sessions, when the State would be more largely represented."

The second session of the Federation was held at Indianapolis, in Workingman's Hall, June 8, 1886. Thirty-three delegates were present, representing twenty-four unions and central labor bodies. That the session was a live one is indicated by the fact that in the election for president the first ballot resulted in a tie vote between Mr. Leffingwell and Emil Levy of Evansville. Upon a second ballot Mr. Leffingwell received one majority.

In his address to the convention President Leffingwell set forth at length the purposes of the Federation. He said:

"We have met here, then, to exert our efforts towards the amelioration of the conditions of all who labor; to bring about something like an equitable distribution of the wealth produced by labor; to protect not only our rights as citizens, but to protect ourselves in life and limb in the various occupations which we are allotted to pursue.

"The real issue in this great struggle is that of labor and small capitalists versus the giant demon of monopoly. We mean no antagonism to capital legitimately invested, but we must favor and urge such legislation as will prevent the unjust accumulation of wealth. The equal organization of capital and labor should result in a harmony of relations to each other and in justice to both.

"We must proclaim it as a fixed principle with us that our means of obtaining redress from ills of which we complain are lawful and peaceful.  
\* \* \* You will find it among the duties of your mission here to formulate some plan by which enactment can be made in our State legislative body tending to relieve labor of much of the burden which now weighs upon it."

The address also sounded a warning against labor's indulgence in acts of lawlessness, disorder and violence, which were characterized as "productive of confusion and misrule" and leading to "dissolution and desolation."

Up to 1891 all conventions of the Federation were held at Indianapolis. In that year a resolution was adopted providing that future conventions be held in different localities each year, "thus calling out a representation from cities that have never before responded."

From 1892 to 1900 the conventions met as follows: 1892 at Logansport, 1893 at South Bend, 1894 at Peru, 1895 at Fort Wayne, 1896 at Muncie, 1897 at Marion, 1898 at Terre Haute, 1899 at Elwood and 1900 at Logansport.

It will be noted that the conventions all met in cities located in the central or the northern part of the State. Southern Indiana, outside of Evansville, has never afforded much opportunity for labor organization. Conventions were naturally held where their influence would result in the greatest good to the labor movement.

The presidents of the Federation from 1885 to 1900 were: 1885-87, Samuel L. Leffingwell of Indianapolis, Central Labor Union; 1887-91, Emil Levy of Evansville, Cigar Makers' Union; 1891-93, Thomas M. Gruelle of Indianapolis, Printers' Union; 1893-95, Joseph F. Suchawk of South Bend, Cigar Makers' Union; 1895-1900, Edgar A. Perkins of Indianapolis, Printers' Union.

Although this article is not directly concerned with the history of the Federation after 1900, mention might be made of the fact that Mr. Perkins acted as president of the organization for eighteen consecutive years with the exception of one term, when John Hughes of the Indianapolis "Central Labor Union" was elected in 1909. In 1913 Mr. Perkins resigned and was succeeded by John Fox of "Miners' District No. 11," Terre Haute.

#### MEMBERSHIP

The constitution of 1886 provided that the Federation should be composed "of representatives or alternates of the labor organizations of the State who should be elected by such bodies." In reality, however, the Federation came to be made up of the various organizations affiliated with it and not of delegates to the annual conventions. Just as in the "American Federation of Labor" many organizations which held membership in the general body failed for one cause or another to send representatives to the convention. Only those organizations which were in good standing with dues and taxes paid up to date were allowed to seat delegates at conven-

tions. Bona fide labor organizations alone were admitted to membership.

Down to 1890 the constitution provided that "Each Trade Assembly, District Assembly or Central Organization shall be entitled to three representatives; each local organization shall be entitled to one representative for every one hundred members or less. Two or more organizations may unite in sending one representative." In 1890 the number of delegates allowed the first group of organizations was increased to five and local organizations were allowed to send one delegate for each fifty members or less. The provision as to joint delegates remained unchanged. The expenses of delegates in all cases were to be borne by the bodies they represented. Delegates were limited to one vote each, and no proxies were allowed. Ex-delegates were early given the right to a seat in conventions, with all privileges of the floor, but were not allowed to vote.

The following table shows the growth of the Federation down to 1900:

Year	Delegates Present	Organizations Represented
1885	12	6
1886	34	23
1890	43	24
1892	84	62
1896	52	39
1897	96	72
1898	81	66
1899	114	90 (Approx.)
1900	97	81 (Approx.)

While these figures are taken from the reports of the conventions they do not show the total strength of the Federation. Allowance must be made for the fact that each year many organizations affiliated with the Federation failed to send delegates. Moreover, a large number of them annually sent only a part of their quota of representatives. Finally it should be noted that about one-third of the organizations represented were central, district or State bodies composed of a large number of local unions, all of which must be included in determining the extent of the Federation.

The table given shows a steady increase in the size of the convention save for the period from 1892 to 1896. The decrease indicated here is due to the panic of 1893, which demoralized labor or-

ganizations everywhere. It might also be stated here that while assemblies of the "Knights of Labor" were active in forming the Federation in 1885, they disappeared from its ranks later on when the "Knights" were disrupted by their fight with the International Unions affiliated with the "American Federation of Labor."

#### GOVERNMENT AND POWERS

From the outset the authority of the Federation over local, central and district unions was limited. "Local autonomy" was largely observed. The Federation restricted itself to recommendatory proposals save in a few cases, as, for example, when it provided in 1886 that all affiliated organizations must admit women to membership, give them the same privileges as men and secure for them the same wages as for men for like work performed. The chief office of the Federation was to promote legislation and form new unions and city central bodies. Any attempt to usurp the powers of local organizations would have met strong opposition and endangered the usefulness of the Federation.

In his address to the convention of 1896 President Perkins spoke on the above point as follows:

"The constant tendency to assume powers not theirs, to extend the scope of their workings and to arrogate to themselves powers which can not belong to them, is as much to be frowned upon and resented in our labor organizations as it is in our body politic. Especially is this tendency shown in our federated bodies. The fact is lost sight of that they are but the creatures of the locals; that they are at the best but recommendatory organizations. The tendency of extension should be tempered by the most careful scrutiny, in that no rights of the locals, the genesis of the movement, should be infringed upon."

While the Federation rarely infringed upon the original powers of the local organizations affiliated with it it did not, during the period under consideration, attach itself to any national labor organization. As early as 1886 the Federation endorsed the work of the "Knights of Labor" and pledged co-operation with them in ameliorating the condition of the working classes. Affiliation with the "Knights," however, was made impossible by their waning influence and different type of organization. In 1886 the "American Federation of Labor" began its career. Its purposes and program in a national way corresponded to what the "Indiana Federation" aimed to do in a State way. Repeated efforts were made in the conven-

tions of the latter after 1886 to obtain a vote favorable to affiliation with the "American Federation." In each case, however, the proposition was lost, though in 1890 President Levy in his report advocated the adoption of such a measure.

Several reasons may be given for the attitude taken upon this question. In the first place the "American Federation" during the greater part of the period was engaged in a life and death struggle with the "Knights of Labor." While the Federation gradually displaced its rival yet the Indiana organization, which was comparatively well established, had nothing to gain by joining in the fight. Secondly, the "Indiana Federation" feared that affiliation with the larger national body might deprive it of part of its power. Finally the financial resources of the "State Federation" were at all times limited, and affiliation would have meant added current expense through dues and assessments. The last argument was the one most generally used in debating the question, but it may be safely said that the first two reasons were dominant in the minds of the delegates in opposition.

The constitution of 1885 provided for a president, a recording secretary and thirteen vice-presidents, one from each congressional district, all to be chosen at an annual convention. The president and secretary were elected by the convention as a whole while the vice-presidents were elected by the delegates from the several congressional districts. An executive board composed of fifteen officers was given power to conduct such business as might come up during the intervals between the regular sessions of the Federation. The president was also given authority to appoint a legislative board or committee of seven, of which he and the secretary were members *ex officio*.

This system of government and administration soon exhibited glaring defects. The full quota of vice-presidents was seldom filled. At practically every convention one or more congressional districts lacked representation. Although this circumstance cut down the size of the executive board to some extent, yet that body was too large and too widely scattered to make it easy for the board to transact business. The legislative committee was weak because, except for the president and secretary, none of its members were in a position to know what the needs of the Federation were and how desirable legislation could be enacted. Its appropriation also was too small. Finally the board could not act upon its own initiative in important

cases. By the time the Federation granted it authority to act the time for action had usually passed.

In general the system of administration first provided lacked that centralization of authority which produces quick and decisive action. The president was a mere figurehead who presided over the annual convention but had no control over the Federation's affairs when conventions had adjourned. As a result of these conditions the affiliated organizations manifested little active interest in the Federation during the first years of its existence. The ship drifted along with no commanding officer authorized to steer a definite course.

In 1895, with the advent of the so-called "Perkins administration" a new policy was entered upon. Mr. Perkins had for many years been an active worker in his own union, the printers, and also in the Federation. His thorough understanding of the Federation's machinery and his belief that it needed radical reorganization led to reform when he was elected president. His main contention, as expressed in his address to the convention in 1896, was that "there must be lodged in some one the power of supervision—some one who can outline a policy and direct it."

Mr. Perkins' plan provided for a president and a secretary-treasurer whose terms should be for two years, and three vice-presidents to be elected annually. The president was to be the chairman of the executive committee, which, in addition to its ordinary duties, was to take over the work of the legislative committee. He also desired that the president be given power to appoint organizers. In 1891 the convention had provided for three organizers to be elected annually. As finally adopted the revised plan provided for a president, secretary-treasurer, first and second vice-presidents and three organizers. These officers composed both the executive and the legislative committees. All were to be elected in annual convention.

In 1897 the constitution was again revised and the policy of centralizing control and authority was carried still further. The three organizers, hitherto elected by the convention, were dispensed with and power was given the president to adopt such agents. Furthermore the organizers were excluded from membership on the executive committee, which was thus reduced to four members. In 1898 an unsuccessful attempt was made by a few "insurgents" in the convention to deprive the president of his appointive power over the organizers. It was fortunate for the Federation that this effort

to destroy centralization was defeated. At the same time there was a movement to defeat the administration in office. This also failed. First Vice-president Philip K. Reinbold, of Terre Haute, was one of the leaders of the group making the attack.

In 1899 a third vice-president was added. Provision was also made that at least one of the officers should be a resident of Indianapolis. This officer, because of his location in the capital city, was designated chairman of the legislative committee, the membership of which, however, remained identical with that of the executive committee. Of the latter body the president of the Federation was chairman. After 1900 further changes were made in the number and duties of officers, but such do not concern us here.

In 1897 the work of the convention required constitutional provision for seven committees: namely, on finance, resolutions, petitions, laws, state of organization, president's address and secretary-treasurer's report. These committees are substantially the same as those required at the present time.

In concluding the discussion of the Federation's government and powers it is interesting to note that in 1899 a resolution providing for the incorporation of the organization under the Indiana laws was proposed. In 1895 the secretary-treasurer absconded with the funds of the organization. It was felt by those who endorsed the plan for incorporation that by obtaining legal standing under a State charter better protection could be extended over the treasury. The fact that incorporation was considered contrary to the policy of trade unionism and would have prevented the use of funds except in specified ways caused the Federation to vote down the resolution.

#### FINANCE

The constitution of 1886 provided for revenue as follows: "Each organization applying for admission to membership to this Federation shall pay an entrance fee of three dollars per delegate, and an annual per capita tax of two cents on all members in good standing, payable quarterly, so long as such organization continues its membership."

It soon became evident that the initiation fee was so high as to discourage many unions from joining the Federation. Consequently, in the late eighties it was reduced to a flat three dollar basis, regardless of the number of delegates sent to the convention. In 1890

the fee was lowered still further to two dollars, and in 1896 to one dollar.

The per capita tax also underwent change. When the initiation fee was first lowered the tax was raised to six cents. In 1890 it was increased to seven cents and in 1892 lowered to five cents. No provision was made for collecting a higher tax from trade councils and other central bodies than from local unions. Yet the former were allowed three delegates in the convention while the latter were allotted but one delegate for each fifty members. Large local unions, it is true, could have had as many delegates as some of the central bodies. The small local union, however, felt that it was being subjected to too much taxation without enough representation. Consequently the Federation in 1896 provided that local unions should continue to pay a five cent per capita tax, but that the levy on central labor unions, trade councils and similar organizations should be raised to fifteen cents. This revision proved satisfactory, and it was continued in operation throughout the period under consideration.

The repeated changes in the size of the initiation fee and per capita tax show something of the financial difficulties of the Federation. When the burden put on organizations desired as members was too high, few could afford to join; when too low the Federation ran short of funds. Profiting by experience, the Federation aimed to arrive at a "happy medium." Provision was also made in the early constitutions for special assessments, but there is no record that such were ever levied. The figures available show that the receipts from initiation fees remained fairly uniform after the first year. In 1886 they amounted to \$99.00. From 1890 to 1900 they varied from \$6.00 to 26.00 per annum. The receipts from the per capita tax increased from \$27.00 in 1890 to \$246.48 in 1900.

In addition to the above sources of revenue, which provided what was termed the "general fund," the Federation during the latter part of the period relied upon voluntary contributions solicited for special purposes. In 1897 and 1898 the executive committee called for special financial assistance to further the work of forming new unions. In 1898 over seventy dollars realized in this way was used in organizing the miners of Daviess county.

While the funds obtained through voluntary contributions were in actual practice, used only for the purposes specified in the calls sent out, there was no constitutional provision to prevent the Federation from spending the money any way it saw fit. In 1899, there-

fore, an amendment to the constitution was adopted definitely, giving the president power to solicit voluntary contributions but requiring further that the funds raised should be used only for the objects specified except by unanimous vote of the executive committee or by a two-thirds vote of the Federation in convention assembled. Some of the money raised in this way, after 1898, was used to enforce labor laws and to finance suits brought in court to test the constitutionality of other acts. The total receipts realized in this way in 1899 were \$301.03, more than was raised from any other one source.

The officers of the Federation at first received no regular salaries. Their expenses while engaged on Federation business, however, were paid. Members of the legislative committee were allowed \$2.50 and expenses for their actual services, "hotel expenses not to exceed \$1.50 per day." All money from the general fund was paid out only upon the order of the convention.

In 1895 the president was granted a salary of \$25.00 a year and the secretary-treasurer \$50.00 a year, together with the necessary expenses in each case. Compensation for work on the legislative committee remained unchanged. Since 1900 officers' salaries have been materially raised, but they are yet quite low. With the limited revenue of the Federation strict economy has been necessary. Aside from salaries the main expenditures from the general fund have consisted largely of such items as printing, postage and maintenance of legislative lobbying. The publication and distribution of convention proceedings, circulars and advertising material intended to educate the people of the State in regard to the work of the Federation in 1900 required about \$250.00 or 66 per cent of the general fund.

#### ORGANIZATION AND PUBLICITY

One of the important functions of the "Indiana Federation of Labor" has been the formation of local and city central unions. As early as 1886 the organization of central labor unions in all communities where three or more local unions existed was decided upon. Since that time there has been growing activity in pursuing this policy. Once such bodies have been created their membership in the Federation has then been secured.

Considerable effort has also been spent to organize local trade and labor unions. In this field, however, the Federation has had to

proceed cautiously in order not to conflict with the national and international trade unions within whose jurisdiction the local bodies lay. Friction has arisen only in a few cases since the Federation has been careful to act in conjunction with and upon the advice of the national and international unions.

According to President Perkins the Federation has acted wisely in imposing most of the burden of organizing local trade unions upon the respective national bodies. In 1898 he said:

"I believe the organizers of this body are in the nature of representatives of the State Federation in their respective districts—that their duty lies in creating a sentiment among the local unions favorable to affiliation with the state body. Organization is a peculiar function of the national organizations, and while I think our organizers have a perfect right to form unions wherever possible they should in all cases defer to organizers of national bodies. Any other policy than this might result in a clash of jurisdiction with its subsequent confusion."

The first organizers provided by the Federation were the thirteen vice-presidents chosen, as required by the constitution of 1885, from the several congressional districts. These men were supposed to form new unions in their respective territories and to secure their allegiance to the Federation. Little was accomplished by this plan. The vice-presidents could devote but little time to the work, since they received no remuneration save their expenses which were borne by the local organizations they assisted. Moreover, many of the districts were not represented by a vice-president. The reports of these officers when made were verbal and general in character. No record was kept of the few unions they succeeded in forming.

In 1891 a change was made whereby the annual convention of the Federation elected three organizers and a general lecturer, the former to serve as part of the executive committee. The organizers chosen were O. P. Smith of Logansport, D. F. Kennedy of Indianapolis, and P. H. Carroll of Evansville. Mr. Carroll was prevented from taking an active part in the work owing to "local incumbrances peculiar to the locality which was chosen as his sphere of usefulness." The other two men pushed the work of organization in the northern part of the State. Huntington, South Bend, Wabash, Lafayette and Logansport were visited. Mass meetings were held to arouse enthusiasm for organized labor and to place the policies of the trade union movement before the public at large. Three unions were formed in South Bend, and the membership of

the existing unions was increased. In Logansport "Federal Labor Union No. 5592" was formed. This body in turn assisted in the organization of local unions of the Barbers, Teamsters and Laborers. Impetus was also given to the activity and membership of existing unions. A full report of this work was rendered the Federation by Mr. Smith in 1892.

The above account makes it evident that the new system even with inadequate funds was a success. Paid and experienced men had superseded unpaid and inexperienced men. Still, however, the organizers were creatures of the Federation in convention and not of its executive head. In 1896, as previously stated, Mr. Perkins proposed that the power to choose organizers be vested in the president. In 1897 this plan was adopted. The president was authorized to appoint as many organizers as he deemed necessary for such districts as he thought proper. The only restriction placed upon him was that his appointees must be chosen from among the delegates to the convention. The president as chief organizer was now the real head of the Federation.

The work of organizing was pushed as fast as the finances of the Federation would allow. The plan of soliciting special contributions, as noted above, aided considerably in providing material of war. The organizers together with central, local and labor unions were active throughout the State. Reports rendered in 1899 show that over sixty new organizations were formed during the year in Indianapolis, Terre Haute, Fort Wayne, Marion, Muncie, South Bend, Mishawaka and Elwood. At Terre Haute special mention was made of the fact that District No. 11, "United Mine Workers of America," had affiliated with the "Central Labor Union" of that city. From Elwood it was reported that every trade in the city was organized except the plate glass workers and the barbers and that the existing unions all belonged to the Trades Council. Even a "Newsboys' Protective Union," with sixty members had been formed. Reports rendered in 1900 show that still greater activity followed for that year. The success attained in Indiana after 1897 is typical of the growth of trade unionism throughout the country down to 1903. Business was booming, work was plentiful and men could be interested in the labor movement.

In some instances the Federation used its machinery to organize bodies other than trade or labor unions. In 1899 the Federation endorsed the "Women's International Union Label

League" and authorized the organizers to institute locals thereof wherever possible. It is interesting to note, also, that in 1899 a "Women's Federal Labor Union" was formed in Muncie.

On at least one occasion prior to 1900 the Federation organizers invaded outside territory by going into Illinois and in assisting the formation of several unions in that State. Thus in 1899 organizer E. H. Evinger, of Terre Haute, reported that he had helped form the "Federal Labor Union" of Charleston, Ill., On the other hand the Federation in 1898 approved of the action of the "Chicago Allied Printing Trades Council" in extending its jurisdiction into Indiana in order to continue its fight against the W. B. Conkey Printing Company, which had moved across the State line to escape the influence of the Council. The plant was finally unionized as a result, in part, of definite assistance given by the Federation.

The work of organization has at all times been facilitated by publicity campaigns conducted through the executive committee. These campaigns were intended not only to promote the organization of new unions but also to influence public opinion in favor of labor legislation. Reports of the conventions were from the first furnished to the public press. The proceedings of the conventions were also printed and sent to all affiliated organizations in the State. In 1895 a privately owned paper known as *The Union*, published at Indianapolis, was adopted as an "official" organ. Pamphlets, circular letters and other printed matter were circulated especially among lawyers, legislators, ministers and all others who had opportunity in a special way to influence public opinion. Labor Day celebrations were fostered, and encouraged. It has always been the sense of the Federation that the advancement of union principles can only be brought about as the support of public sentiment is secured.

#### LEGISLATION AND PUBLIC QUESTIONS

During the entire period of its existence the "Indiana State Federation of Labor" has had as its main object the securing of desirable legislation and the enforcement of existing labor laws. In this work it has succeeded in making itself a power to be reckoned with by the people of the State. Primarily it has been the purpose of the Federation to secure legislation in the in-

terest of organized labor. However, its efforts have not been confined to this field alone. Numerous reforms have been advocated by the Federation which have been of general interest to State and nation. Many of these reforms were secured during the period under consideration, while others have been enacted into law since 1900.

It must not be assumed that the Federation fought its battles for advanced legislation unaided. In many cases it co-operated with political parties, employers' associations, and civic, philanthropic or church societies. Its lobbyists were often assisted by those from other labor organizations such as the "Railway Brotherhoods," the "Miners" and various central labor councils together with the "Knights of Labor" and the "American Federation of Labor."

As noted above a legislative board or committee was created by the constitution of 1885. The committee was composed of five appointed members plus the president and secretary of the Federation as ex officio members. In 1896 the powers of the legislative committee were turned over to the executive committee, and the actual direction of the legislative work was vested in the president. Mr. Perkins, then president, had been for several years the chairman of the legislative committee, so the reorganization involved no change in leadership. It was not until 1897, however, that much was accomplished under the Perkins administration.

Prior to this change an attempt was made to place the legislative interests of the Federation in what was known as the State Legislative Council. The Council was made up of representatives of the Federation and of other labor organizations in the State. The first meeting was held in 1892 but no permanent organization was formed at the time. In 1893 a second meeting was held at which the Council was organized. Local Councils were formed later, in accordance with the plans of the convention. Nothing of importance was accomplished and the Council never had another meeting. The new organization was never officially countenanced by the Federation owing to the conflict of jurisdiction.

For many years there was much doubt as to just how much authority the legislative committee possessed. In some instances it had assumed the right to speak unqualifiedly for labor on certain measures, even though other organizations expressed conflicting views. Considerable friction had been caused in this way. In 1898 the Federation was asked to state specifically what the

powers of the committee were. In the following year the convention granted to it supreme jurisdiction in matters of legislative interest during the sessions of the General Assembly. Provision was also made whereby local unions could present measures to the Federation for legislative consideration. No prohibition, moreover, was placed upon the sending of local union committees to the General Assembly. In case of conflicting opinions, however, the Federation asserted that its representative and not those of individual unions spoke for the laboring men of Indiana.

The legislative committee for the most part has acted under strict instructions from the Federation. At conventions such resolutions as embodied proposed bills have been turned over to the committee for presentation to the General Assembly. When proposed laws have been embodied in resolutions or petitions the drafting of the bill has been left to the committee. In such cases outside agencies and organizations and even State officials have been asked for co-operation in framing the measures correctly.

In pushing a bill through the General Assembly the Federation has usually followed the course of other lobbying organizations. In many instances the work has been forwarded by members of the House or Senate who have held union cards. Considerable aid was secured in 1899 through the appointment of J. W. Peters, secretary-treasurer of the Federation, to a clerical position in the Senate. At the 1899 session of the General Assembly five labor organizations were represented by their committees—the Engineers, Trainmen, Firemen, Miners and the Federations.

A campaign of publicity has frequently been resorted to in order to promote desired legislation. An example of this kind of work is found in the efforts to secure the passage of the child labor law. While this bill was before the General Assembly the president of the Federation sent out hundreds of personal letters requesting ministers, lawyers, lecturers and public men to bring the question of child labor before the people. Such campaigns have also been carried on between the sessions of the General Assembly.

As early as 1886 the Federation set out upon a legislative program. At that time President Leffingwell spoke to the convention as follows:

"You will find it among the duties of your mission here to formulate some plan by which enactment can be made in our State Legislature tending to relieve labor of much of the burden which now weighs upon it.

Prison labor, child labor, contract labor, the education of children, protection of life and limb to employes in factories, mines and workships, the regulation of the truck or store-order system of payment, the shortening of hours, and other minor measures to be suggested all come legitimately within the province of State legislation, and it is the main duty of this body to exert an effort to bring these measures before the proper tribunal."

It will not be possible to give an extended account of the entire legislative activity of the Federation in this paper. Only the history of some of the more important measures can be traced while other bills can be but mentioned.

The existing Child Labor and Factory Inspection Acts are due largely to the efforts of the "Indiana Federation of Labor." In 1886 the Federation adopted a resolution to the effect that no child under the age of sixteen years should be employed in any mine, shop or factory except the children of widows, when the age should be not less than fourteen years. At this time the "Knights of Labor" had a bill prepared covering the ground towards which the support of the Federation was thrown. This first effort, however, failed to accomplish anything. In 1891 a child labor law was adopted by the General Assembly, but it was of little value as no penalties were imposed for its violation. In 1892 a new bill was drafted by Mr. Perkins, then chairman of the Federation's legislative committee. This measure which was patterned after the laws of New York and Massachusetts received little attention until 1895, when its introduction into the legislature brought forth active opposition from employers. In 1897 this bill with substantial modifications was passed. Only \$1,000 was appropriated for its enforcement. In 1899 the appropriation was increased \$500, and the salaries of the chief inspector and his two deputies were advanced. The existing law providing for a State Bureau of Inspection was adopted in 1911. Owing to the limitations of space it is not possible to enter into the details of any of these acts.

The Prison Labor Bill, as it is known, has had an extended history. The bill was originally drafted about 1889 at a meeting held at Indianapolis, attended by representatives of the "Knights of Labor," the Federation, the Grangers and members of various trade unions. Prominent at the meeting were State Senator James A. Mount and Mr. Edgar Perkins. The object of the proposed law was to abolish contract convict labor and to establish a State account system for working prisoners in State institutions.

From 1891 through successive sessions of the General Assembly down to 1897 the above mentioned bill was introduced, only to meet defeat in each instance. During the early part of the session of 1897 the bill was again rejected. Later in the session there was a meeting of representatives of the "Indiana Manufacturers' Association" with the Federation's legislative committee, at which time a new bill somewhat similar to the one killed was drafted. After an intensive campaign of publicity this measure was enacted into law during the closing days of the General Assembly. The law was defective, however, inasmuch as it failed to make an appropriation for the care of prisoners thrown out of employment or for putting the public account system into operation. As a result, with the expiration of existing contracts, many of the prisoners were compelled to lie idle. This condition afforded a good opportunity for opponents of the public account system to attack the law, and they were not slow in taking advantage of it. The original Federation bill provided a competent appropriation and more carefully stipulated as to the distribution and use of convict-made goods.

Between the legislative sessions of 1897 and 1899 friendly conferences were held between the prison authorities and representatives of the Federation. As a result an agreement was reached whereby it was recommended that the contract system be abolished in 1904, when existing contracts would have expired. An appropriation of \$25,000 a year for five years was also asked in order to establish the public account system. These provisions were embodied into law in 1899. By subsequent laws in 1903 and 1909, however, the general operation of the State account system was postponed till 1920. Accordingly the efforts of the Federation in this connection bore little fruit.

It is not possible to deal with all the acts of legislation in which the Federation was concerned down to 1900. The following list indicates some of the more important laws which, in whole or part, were due to the activity of the Federation:

1. Prohibiting the discharge of workmen for belonging to a labor organization.
2. Making laborers' and mechanics' wages preferred liens.
3. Requiring weekly payments of wages.
4. Prohibiting payment of wages in anything but lawful money.
5. Prohibiting blacklisting.

6. Making employers specifically liable for damages in case of injuries incurred by their employes under certain conditions.
7. Creating a labor commission to assist in settling industrial disputes.
8. Repealing the conspiracy laws.
9. Making Labor Day a legal holiday.
10. Protecting union labels from infringement.
11. Abolishing contract labor in mines, regulating the weighing of coal and providing for greater safety to miners.
12. Amending the fire escape law.
13. Providing for automatic couplers and continuous brakes on railway cars.
14. Providing for safety appliances on steam boilers.
15. Providing for temporary floors in buildings three or more stories in height while under construction.

Besides these measures and many others intended for the relief and protection of labor the Federation prior to 1900 favored legislation of a more general character. As early as 1886 it was the sense of the organization that something should be done to prevent the adulteration of foodstuffs. In 1890 endorsement was given to the plan to elect United States Senators by direct vote. Other measures favored at different times were an Australian Ballot Law, direct primaries, the exemption of mortgages from taxation, a compulsory education law, the reform of prison management and amendment of the county and township law to allow public work to be done by a system of direct employment.

In 1899 the Federation went on record as opposed to a further increase in the standing army of the United States. After a lengthy discussion the following resolutions concerning trusts was also adopted:

"Modern trusts are monopolies gone to seed. It is the sense of the 'Indiana Federation of Labor,' in convention assembled, that we believe in a trust that takes us all in, and not trusts for the few to the hurt of the many. We are unalterably and eternally opposed to the centralization and combination of wealth in the hands of the few for the benefit of the few. In only one sense are the labor unions like unto the over four hundred trusts in this country today, which is the only redeeming quality of modern trusts, namely, in the co-operation they teach the American people."

In 1900 the Federation took an apparently radical step in favoring government ownership of all means of production and distribution under a system of co-operative industry. It declared that the emancipation of the laboring classes could be brought about only

by the abolition of capitalism. The truth of the matter seems to be that the adoption of the resolution was a "slip" and did not indicate the real sentiment of the Federation.

In the early part of its career the Federation was vexed by the introduction of State and national politics into its conventions. Those who were responsible for bringing up such matters doubtless wished to forward the legislative policy of the organization by linking the Federation to the fortunes of the party most favorable to labor. By casting the solid labor vote in one direction they believed the chosen party could be elected to power. At the convention in 1888 a large part of the session was devoted to the question of endorsing one or the other of the candidates for president of the United States. By a split vote Harrison was denounced and Cleveland endorsed. In 1894 discussion over the current political situation became so heated that the convention was split and part of the delegates withdrew. The entire Federation was threatened with dissolution by this action. At the session of 1896 the silver question caused prolonged debate. A committee of two "gold" and three "silver" men was appointed to bring in resolutions for the convention to consider. The committee submitted majority and minority reports respectively for and against "free silver." After a lengthy debate the whole matter was laid upon the table. Two resolutions were then submitted providing for the elimination of politics from the business of the Federation but both were rejected. In their place a substitute was adopted which read in part: "We earnestly commend the aims and objects of the 'American Federation of Labor' in uniting the American workmen, and recommend its course and policy in working for industrial reforms, which, if adopted, must secure to all a fair portion of the fruits of their labor." Since the American Federation of Labor, up to that time, had not taken sides in politics, the above resolution indicates the purpose of the Indiana organization to follow its course in this respect.

## Research In State History in State Universities\*

By JAMES A. WOODBURN, Professor of History, Indiana University

It is not the purpose of this paper to describe the extent to which State Universities are carrying on research in State and local history, or what courses they may be offering to their students in this field of research and study. Information on that subject is being sought by a committee of the Mississippi Valley Historical Society, and when it is obtained it will be made available to the members of this organization. I shall speak rather of the duties, opportunities and responsibilities of the State University in this direction. In the brief time at my disposal I shall attempt only a categorical summary of observations, leaving to the discussion any elaboration that may be though fruitful.

1. The first obligation resting on a State University is that which rests on every universitiy—it should be a university within the scope of its endeavor. As university men we all have the same aim. Whether in research or in teaching the purposes of a State University is the same as that of any other university—to advance learning, to promote culture, to discover truth and to give to men and women an opportunity, in touch with leaders and laboratories of learning, to know more of the arts and sciences of life. I do not see that research in State history is essentially any more the function of a State University than of any other university.

2. But a State is a people under some form of political organization, and every organized society, and more especially the State, owes something to its history. A State entirely indifferent to its history would be a sorry spectacle. Such a State is hardly known in the record of human life because, should a State sink to that low level or fail to attain above it, it would cease to have a history and would drop from view. Having lost all interest in its own ancestry it would cease to be of interest to its posterity. The State is under obligations for its own sake, not only to preserve its history, as found in its materials and memorials, its archives and documents, but to celebrate that history, to publish it and make it available to

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its students, its historians and its people. The State may, therefore, very properly endow and employ its university for the promotion of this end, within limits consistent with the privileges and duties of the university in all other directions. This obligation the State ought to recognize and fulfill. There is not a better, more efficient or more constant agency for this work of the State than the State University. It is the obvious medium in connection with its State Historical Society and its Historical Commission for the prosecution of this function of the State.

3. It is not to be deemed essential nor even important that the university should establish undergraduate courses in State history in its college of liberal arts. Arts are long and time is fleeting. Other things demand attention in a liberal arts education. Graduate courses would be more proper, but no one has a right to demand even these in a State University or in any other university. Such courses, it should be candidly recognized, may be of interest and benefit to but a small body of students. In a short university life most students will desire very properly to devote their time to other and more important lines of study. I say this with some appreciation of the fact that upon the question as to what knowledge is most worth while there will be sharp differences of opinion, and that there are those who will contend that it is most important for a student to know his own life, and that of his own people in his own State. I can only give my judgment for what it may be worth, and that judgment is that other things than State and local history are more likely to be conducive to a student's culture, to his training and to his higher education. We may properly appreciate our local history without contending that it is just as important for the training of our youth in history that they should know as well the battles of Pigeon Roost and Horse Shoe Bend as to know the significance of Marathon and Waterloo. Let us base our contention for local history on tenable ground.

4. The Department of History in a State University should be ready and willing, within the limits of its equipment, its powers and other duties, to lend its aid and co-operation to every agency in the State toward the promotion of a public interest in, and a knowledge of, the State's history; to an intelligent, public-spirited preservation of historical materials and towards making the content of this material available in published forms. State and local historical societies, teachers' associations, the public schools, etc., may

be sought by Departments of History in State Universities as fitting instruments for co-operation.

5. The State University should do more. It should sustain some agency to promote the collection and publication of such materials in State history. A special historical library, and librarian, scholarships and research fellowships in State history, lectureships, bulletins, magazines, a well organized and well directed Historical Survey—these are obvious connections and instrumentalities by which research in State history may be promoted. This would involve subsidy, support, a money maintenance of men who give all or much of their time to this work, whether they be on or off the teaching staff. These workers in State history at the State Universities, should be in closer co-operation with the State Libraries, the State Historical commissions and State Historical societies.

6. The work by such means should be in connection with and under the direction of the Department of History. There need be no separate department of State History except in the sense that here is a special field of research in which trained historical workers may serve the State. But a separate teaching department in the college of liberal arts is uncalled for. A student is not to be expected nor should he be allowed to choose such a local field as a major subject for graduation. The field may be a department of useful and fruitful labor worthy of additional laborers, to which State encouragement and subsidy may be given, but it does not call for a coordinate department of teaching and administration.

7. But research in State history offers a very fruitful field for the application and further training of advanced students in history. It offers a field from which, if the field be properly tilled, we may expect valuable contributions which will be of great assistance in the study of our national history as well as valued additions to our historical literature. It is now easy to be discerned that he who would study our national development must needs study the West, the frontier, the States that grew up here, the people that settled and builded these commonwealths, the motives and influences and spirit that prompted these people. He who would study our national politics and parties of a hundred years ago must study the States, the parties, the factions, the conditions, the political leaders in New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Virginia and the Carolinas. The intelligent student sees clearly that the decisive influences moved from the States to the center. No one will understand what hap-

pened and why in national politics without a knowledge of State affairs and State life. Nothing is more obvious than this to the students of our history. Not only these students but intelligent men of affairs readily understand this. It is very forcibly illustrated for them as they look at current political history. Recent American history can not be indifferent to what Oregon has been doing in the field of politics. What is going on in the political life of Kansas, of New York, of Pennsylvania, of Wisconsin and of Illinois determines the course of American politics. From a knowledge of conditions in these and other States must the historian of America make up his account. Without the records from the States he cannot portray our national life in any serious or significant way. For his sources he will have to look to the documents preserved in the States, to monographs and contributions on local history which have been produced by laborious workers in the local field. As we know, much of this kind of work has already been done and certainly the State Universities should encourage more of it in every possible way. They have, or they can collect, the materials. They have, or they can train, the advanced students capable of doing the work. They can find fruitful themes for master's theses and doctoral dissertations with a view to productions, not merely of local or remote or antiquarian interests but of interest to our common history. I may be pardoned for naming a few such themes as have been used in Indiana, which may serve to suggest similar themes for use anywhere else: "The Whig Party in Indiana, in 1832 to 1852;" "The Greenback Party in Indiana;" "Party Politics in Indiana during the Civil War;" "Internal Improvements in Early Indiana;" "State Banking in Indiana, 1816-1860;" "Early Indiana Journalism;" the edition of the "Governors' Messages of Indiana." These are merely examples of the possibilities that are open.

It behooves the State to collect and preserve the materials of its history, not only for its own sake but for the sake of the country at large. The State's history will best be served by the trained historical student, by men and women who can live in library and university centers, apart from earning a livelihood, and who, if not themselves experts, may be apprenticed to experts in investigation and research. It is at this point and in this direction that the State University should lend its aid to State history by providing men who can oversee and direct capable students in the study of appropriate topics, and in arranging and editing local historical ma-

terial. There is abundant reason why the State University should cultivate this field. It is a rich field for historical study and production. The problem and expense of publication and preservation need not be assumed by the university alone. It may be undertaken in co-operation with other agencies of the State. Some State Historical Societies have direct State connection and support. Where they have not the State should be encouraged to establish a permanent historical commission which should perform for the State one of its most sacred duties—the collection, preservation and publication of the State's archives and documentary history. I mean, of course, not monographic productions nor any one's account of any movement or event, but the letters, correspondence, messages, documents and other materials from which the history of the State may be studied and written. To such a commission the State University, or any university or college within the State, should lend its consistent aid and co-operation. And the commission through State appropriations should aid the university by making available to the public the edited documents and such worthy monographs as the historical workers of the university may be able to produce.

## French Settlements in Floyd County

By ALICE L. GREEN, New Albany, Indiana

### ST. MARY'S-OF-THE-KNOBS

Of the several buffalo trails crossing the State of Indiana the best developed and most popular led from the salt-licks of Central Kentucky, fording the Ohio River at the Falls, thence over the Floyd county hills, northwest across Southern Indiana to Vincennes and onward to the prairies of Illinois. Over this trail, in many places wide enough for a wagon road, it is said, came the Indians the fur traders, the hunters and trappers, the missionaries and lastly the pioneers.

New Albany, laid out in 1813 just below the Ohio Falls, was a low-lying, very unhealthful village. Malaria, chills, and fevers were the common lot of all. There was a heavy growth of timber along the creeks running through the level stretch upon which the village was located. Much of the land was so low that it was subject to annual overflow. This half-marsh, covered with fallen and decayed timber, caused much sickness among the early settlers. So, it was no uncommon thing for the "older settlers" to advise the "newcomers" to move back among the hills surrounding this valley near the river, where they would be out of the reach of floods and impending sickness.

Soon after the war of 1812, emigrants came, in ever increasing numbers, to the Ohio Falls country. Among these were several French families from Lorraine who floated down the Ohio river; and upon landing at New Albany, and being informed of its unhealthful condition, turned to the hills northwest of the village. These hills were covered with the forest primeval, and the only means of climbing them, doubtless, was by following the old Buffalo trail, long before abandoned by its makers. This probably led the French emigrants north of the present Paoli pike, for they settled on Little Indian creek, some two or three miles north of the present village of Mooresville (Floyd Knob P. O.), and about six miles from New Albany. The exact location of the old trail is not known. It may have been nearer the line of the Paoli pike, from

which it was easy for the settlers to follow the course of the creek. Here they laid the nucleus for the flourishing community known today as St. Mary's-of-the-Knobs.

Among these earliest settlers (they were proud to be settlers, and not squatters) was one Thomas Piers—often called Pierce—an Irishman, who came in 1816. He was a man of considerable influence, a surveyor as well as a farmer. On his farm the first Catholic church was organized by Father Abel of Bardstown, Kentucky. A log church was built in 1824. This church was replaced by a brick building in 1836, and located about a mile north of the first structure. However, the graveyard around the first church continued to be held sacred for many years, and has only recently become a part of the cultivated fields. In 1824 there was no Catholic church in New Albany, and the small congregation out on the Piers farm was recognized as a mission of Bardstown, the priests coming from that town to conduct services for the settlers. At that time the bishop lived at Vincennes. Constant communication was kept up between the churches at Bardstown and Vincennes along the old Buffalo trail. As the priests traveled through the state they made it a point to visit all Catholic families and settlements. Thus the little church on the Floyd county hills had many passing visitors from its earliest days.

Many Frenchmen and a few Irish, led by the ties of kindred, language, and religion, followed the first hardy pioneers. Among these were the names: Vernia (then spelled Vernier), Albert, Banet, Spikert, Jacquot, Pierette, Brevet, Peay, Perrine, Quencez, Beaucond, Richards, Pierson, Bedan (spelled Bedaine), Didat, Journey, Martin, James (Jarques), Wey, Receveur, Choulet, Christian, Marguet, Tripure and many others.

The best known of the Irish settlers in the neighborhood were the Byrn, Duffy and Coleman families. John Coleman was one of the best educated men in the colony, and became the first schoolmaster. He was also a justice of the peace, and tried the few cases.

These early settlers were frugal and industrious. They brought with them their occupations of the "old country," and lived the simple peasant life of the fatherland. The older people, even within the memories of those now living, wore wooden shoes (sabots), and burned their "fagots." The settlement prospered, and the farms grew apace. One of my family remembers seeing the women of those "early days" mounted astride horses coming to market with

the fruits of their fields in bags across the horses' backs. In New Albany they exchanged their produce for such articles as sugar and coffee, mounted their steeds, and rode leisurely away to their hilly homes. As they cleared their fields for cultivation, they used the timber and hoop-poles for making barrels. Thus early the cooperage business became one of the leading industries of the community. They sold these barrels in Louisville, hauling them in immense wagons built for that purpose. A descendant of one of the early French families, a woman not yet in middle life, has told me that she recalls four large "cooper shops" in her immediate neighborhood, when she was a child. The merry sound of the hammer was heard in all directions. Now they are all gone. The clearing away of the forests, and the introduction of factory-made barrels at a much cheaper price caused the decline of this oldtime industry.

Another paying industry of the early French settlement was the stone quarries which gave occupation to a goodly number of men. These men had to be strong, robust, and fearless, for the work was considered quite dangerous. But the boy who secured the job of carrying drinking water from a near-by well or spring to the "quarrymen," as they were called, thought he had an easy task indeed, and there was great competition for the same, as the occupation gave much time for rest and reflection. Logs were in plenty from which he could shy stones at passing birds, and gaze at the beautiful scenery, a panorama of hills, valleys, and distant towns spread out before him; and no doubt he took advantage of the situation. The limestone rocks, after being blasted from the hill-sides, were drilled by hand into huge blocks, and hauled in strong wagons, called "rock wagons" to Louisville, where they assisted largely in building that beautiful city.

These occupations of farming, cooperage and quarrying created a social caste system among the early settlers, the two former being considered much more genteel than the last named. This community, known as "St. Mary's," early became one of the most flourishing in the county and remains so to the present day. Many descendants of those pioneers are still living in the county and State, and they are everywhere honored and respected citizens. And the church so early founded at St. Mary's was like the community a strong and influential society. It grew with the growth of the settlement, and strengthened with its strength, until it is now one of the largest of the State outside the cities.

The church at St. Mary's had no resident priest until 1835, when Father Neyron came to them. This Rev. Father deserves more than passing mention. He was a soldier of Napoleon's army, also a surgeon of remarkable ability. Coming to this country early in the nineteenth century, he became a priest, and his name is closely linked with the early history of New Albany, to which place he came when the first Catholic church was organized. He was a public spirited citizen as well as a religious worker, and he was ever ready with his surgeon's skill to help those in need. He worked hand in hand with his followers, teaching them many useful things. He built churches with his own means, and "healed the sick without money or price." An elderly merchant in New Albany relates that as a mere boy he used to accompany Father Neyron from the village church—after early mass—across the fields and up the hills to St. Mary's where the Rev. Father would hold services at 10 a. m., returning to New Albany immediately afterward, always afoot. So it is easily seen why the name of Father Neyron is held in blessed memory by those old settler folk.

#### "FRENCH CREEK" SETTLEMENT

Southwest of New Albany lies a mass of hills, picturesque, rugged and barren in many places. There is but little level land, and the country is wild and rough in general. The main road through this part of the county, winding, curving and doubling on itself among these beautiful hills, is called the Budd road in honor of Col. Gilbert Budd, an influential English pioneer, who settled early in that community. A French colony, led by a missionary priest, whose name has long since passed into oblivion, settled among these hills about 1830 or thereabouts. They may have been led in that direction in search of higher, healthier ground, as in the case of the first settlement, or the hills may have reminded them of their far-away homes. At any rate they called their settlement "Porrentruy" from the name of the native canton of many of them. On the books of "La Societe Francaise" of New Albany, incorporated by act of Assembly in 1855, the division known as "Porrentruy" is formally entered. Quite a number of these settlers were "Belgian" French, and a few Swiss were mixed with them. Among these hills they planted vineyards, vegetable gardens, and orchards. The people were honest and industrious and for years the colony

prospered. In all about forty families settled within a radius of a few miles up and down French creek, a creek that rushes and tumbles down the hills to the Ohio, and marked the heart of the settlement, its main thoroughfare as it were.

Being much nearer the town than the settlement at St. Mary's, the people attended church at New Albany. It is said that Father Neyron persuaded them to come to him rather than build a church of their own. Once each month the good Father was accustomed to go down among these parishioners, and hold vesper services for them. A resident of New Albany, who lived in this settlement when a boy, relates that on Sunday the older people would drive the mile or two to New Albany to church, while the young people preferred to walk, every laddie with his lassie, and to make the trip as long as possible. It is said that when the community was at its prime, about 1850-60, there were at least a hundred young people in the neighborhood who enjoyed many good times together.

Among the names prominent in the community were Verone, Hubler, Bee, Pierard, Hubbard, Volzer, Marque, Prenat, Boll, Bezot, Gony, Jordan, Bruet, Mousty, Goniat, Graniger, Bezy, Echobert and Beuchat. Several of the oldest settlers had been soldiers of Napoleon, and never tired of telling stories of their early adventures.

Several causes may have led to the downfall of the colony. The land is steep and sterile, and farming does not prosper. There was no church with a resident priest to hold the people together. Many of the young folks, influenced by the spirit of the times, went to the neighboring towns to work. Many of the best families moved to other parts of the state, several settled at Vincennes. And, again, intermarriage with the incoming Americans resulted in the deterioration of the pure French stock.

During the '80's and '90's, the Budd Road French Settlement became a most notorious place for evil doings. Many murders were committed, and the spirit of feuds was rampant. It was with much difficulty that the county authorities were able to suppress this lawlessness.

However, at present, a generation has grown up that is hard-working and law-abiding. The old "reign of terror" has passed away with the older generation. Likewise most of the old landmarks of the early French settlement have disappeared. Here and there are found the remains of an old vineyard on some steep hill-

side. In one place an old chimney looms above the neighboring scrub-oaks, a mute witness of the past. On another hillside a pile of stones, mostly covered with vines and lichens, is all that remains of a huge bake oven, the common property of several neighbors. Here and there a disused well, its sweep and bucket long since fallen to decay, marks the spot of an old French home. These, together with a few names such as "French Creek," "French Creek School," are all that remain of the once flourishing and picturesque community.

It seems the irony of fate that these two French settlements—"St. Mary's" and the "Budd Road"—in the same small county, and within a few miles of each other, should have had such different endings, one to have prospered with the years, and the other to have gone to pieces utterly. Be it as it may, they have added much to the interest and romance of the early history of Floyd county. True to their native characteristics, they give a dash, and a bit of color to our early local history that would be entirely lacking without them.

## Judge Daniel Wait Howe and the "Political History of Secession"

Upon the appearance of a new and notable volume from the pen of Judge Howe it seems fitting that the INDIANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY should not only review the book itself but should give a brief account of the life and work of this worthy Indiana historian. The author of the volume which has just been published\* is well known in Indiana, especially to those who are interested in its history and its historical writing. He has been, for a number of years, the president of the Indiana Historical Society. He was not unknown to authorship before this volume appeared. His *Puritan Republic* (1899), and *Civil War Times* (1902) received favorable and merited notice from the critical reviews at the time of their appearance. They brought both a literary and an historical standing and reputation to their author. Before these volumes appeared Judge Howe had presented to the public (in 1895) two invaluable works, *The Laws and Courts of the Northwest and Indiana Territory*, and *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Official Publications of the Territory and State of Indiana from 1800 to 1890*. Judge Howe's Collection of Indiana Laws and other materials, one of the most valuable single private collections ever gotten together in the State, was given to the Indianapolis Public Library some years ago. It was a magnificent gift to the public.

Judge Howe is a native of Indiana, born at Patriot, Switzerland county, in 1839. He is of New England ancestry, being a direct descendant of John Howe, the first settler of Marlborough, Mass., who came to that colony in 1657. Judge Howe was graduated from Franklin College in 1857. In the first year of the Civil War young Howe enlisted as a private in the Seventh Indiana Volunteers and later he became a captain in the Nineteenth Indiana Volunteers. His soldiering was not a picnic, nor was it a holiday affair. He fought at Carrick's Ford, Stone's River, Chickamauga, and Missionary Ridge—some of the fiercest and bloodiest battle-fields of the war. In November, 1864, Captain Howe was mustered out of service on account of serious wounds received in the grim

\**Political History of Secession to the Beginning of the Civil War*, by Daniel Wait Howe, New York and London, G. P. Putman's Sons, 1914, pp. v., 612.

fighting with Sherman at Kenesaw Mountain. After the war he studied law, receiving the LL. B. degree from Albany Law School in 1867. He began the practice of law at Franklin, Ind., in 1867, where for a time he held office as city attorney and State prosecuting attorney.

On May 17, 1871, Mr. Howe was married to Inez Hamilton, daughter of Robert Hamilton, one of the early settlers of Decatur county, Indiana. The Hamiltons, in the neighborhood of Kingston, Decatur county, are among the best known and highly honored families of that part of the State. Mr. Robert Hamilton, the father of Mrs. Howe, died above the age of ninety but a few months ago—a fine specimen of rugged Indiana manhood.

Judge Howe removed to Indianapolis from Franklin in 1873 and in 1876 was elected judge of the Superior Court of Marion county, which office he held from 1876 to 1890. Since his retirement from the bench he has been in active practice at the Indianapolis bar. During all his adult life Judge Howe has been interested in the legal history of Indiana and the political history of his country, and while attending to his judicial duties or carrying on active legal practice, he has also carried to completion his enterprises in authorship, and after many years of exhaustive reading and labor he has made in this new volume a contribution to American political history which will win for him further distinction and praise.

The volume under review is an exhaustive study of the great controversy over slavery and states rights which finally led to disunion and Civil War in 1861. The author traces the early opinions and differences on slavery in the several States; the early doctrines on state rights and state sovereignty in New England and other sections, as seen in the Hartford Convention, the proposed New England Confederacy, the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions, and in Nullification; the status of slavery in the early territories ceded to the general government by the States; the Missouri Compromise, and the growth of anti-slavery sentiment from 1820 to 1840; and the various political campaigns and heated discussions that led up to the Mexican War while slavery was fast becoming the dominant subject in party contests.

Much the larger part of the volume is taken up with the period from 1850 to 1860—one of the most vital periods in American history. In the treatment of Seward's speech on the compromise meas-

ures of 1850, the author traces the origin of the "higher law" doctrine back through the "Liberty men" to the speech of Lord Brougham in the House of Commons in 1830 in which Brougham rejects the "wild and guilty phantasy that man can hold property in man." Judge Howe very properly regards these compromises as "a temporary plaster that for a time covered but did not heal the sore," and as but "a lull in the storm." The radical Southern leaders like William L. Yancey were spreading and cultivating the seed of secession by speeches, letters, and such State platforms as those adopted in Alabama and Georgia. Yancey and Toombs were thus firing the "Southern heart" for the revolution when the time came to be ripe. Judge Howe's adverse estimate of Franklin Pierce is forceful and must be said to be a fair historic judgment: "Sometimes Providence, in ordering the affairs of the universe, puts a very small man in a very great place, where he is suddenly confronted with great opportunities, great responsibilities, and great events which he has neither the capacity to understand nor the ability to grapple with and which by their very bigness make his own littleness the more conspicuous. Such a man was Franklin Pierce. He was accidentally, as it seems to mankind, placed in the presidential chair." The author holds that Pierce was controlled by Jefferson Davis throughout his administration and he relates that when the Union soldiers captured the home of Davis in 1865, among the treasures there they found a letter from Pierce to Davis, under date of January 6, 1860, in which Pierce gives the Southern leader the assurance that, "if, through the madness of Northern Abolitionism that dire calamity (disunion) must come, the fighting will not be along Mason and Dixon's line merely, it will be within our own borders, in our own streets. Those who defy the law and scout constitutional obligations will, if we ever reach the arbitrament of arms, find occupation enough at home." A great national adviser to the people was this little ex-President! Of Buchanan, Judge Howe shows by Southern authority that "he never gave a vote against the interest of slavery and never uttered a word which could pain the most sensitive Southern heart." Yet Judge Howe quotes, and apparently approves John Sherman and ex-President Andrew D. White to the effect that Buchanan's election, or Fremont's defeat, in 1856 was a blessing to the country. It may have been so. Judge Howe was not a voter in that fateful year but if he had been, it is doubtful, even with the hindsight that

has come with the passage of the years, whether if he had to cast a ballot amid the pending struggle for free soil in 1856, he would still not vote for the "Pathfinder of the Rockies." It would depend, perhaps, upon whether one thought most of saving the union or of restricting the area of human slavery. It is by such interesting and suggestive extracts, sources, and sidelights, that Judge Howe adds to the significance of the struggles and controversies of which he tells.

The author brings into view the sore friction over the fugitive slave and the attempt at nullification of the national law in the North for the sake of the escaping slave; the struggle in Kansas and popular sovereignty as it was seen in action; the "crime against Kansas" and the assault on Sumner; the birth of the Republican party and its first battles for the principle of the Wilmot Proviso; the Dred Scott case and its far-reaching effects; Seward and the "irrepressible conflict;" the Lincoln-Douglas debates; John Brown and his influence; the campaign of 1860 and the exciting and bitter discussions of Buchanan's closing months which led to the final rupture. It is doubtful if there is another decade in the life of America that has produced so much in the way of a vital dramatic struggle as the one of which this volume treats. It is an era surcharged with human interest, a period in which great men of great minds struggled for mastery in the forum. Judge Howe's pages show that in his study of this decade, his reading has been voluminous and his use of the sources varied and extensive, while his vivid presentation makes a very readable and instructive volume. He fought in the ranks as an Indiana soldier against the South, that is against secession and disunion, but he writes history as an American, without any sectional bitterness and with a manly recognition of the courage, devotion and integrity of the Southern people and of the Southern soldiers who sacrificed so much for their cause. He does not "give away" the Northern cause and the national view by unnecessary and uncalled-for concession, but he treats the view opposed to his own with fairness and respect.

The men of the time come into review like real and living combatants in the arena, Toombs and Stephens, Davis, Foote, and Cobb, and Hunter and Benton, and Breckinridge from the South; Douglas, Lincoln, Seward, Sumner, Webster, Cass, Chase, and others, of different political parts and complexion, from the North. The part that each played in the great struggle is set forth without

bias or partisan passion. A judicial historian's estimate of any of the great men of that great era is always a matter of interest. Judge Howe's estimate of Stephen A. Douglas, concluding his chapter on the campaign of 1860, may be offered as a typical passage showing the style and quality of our author's work:

Looking back now over a period of more than fifty years, the picture of Douglas stands out in bold relief. For some years after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska act, he was looked upon by a large portion of the people of the North with distrust, and by many with aversion. Before the end of the presidential campaign they saw another Richmond in the field. It was indeed the same man who had been so largely instrumental in securing the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska act, but he himself had changed. In all the strange evolutions of American politics, nothing is stranger than the political transformation of Douglas. From a staunch ally of the slaveholding interests of the South, he had become their most courageous and determined antagonist. And when the crisis came with the firing on Fort Sumter, his attitude was that of unswerving and uncompromising loyalty to the Union. He will be remembered in future history, not for his record as a politician, but for his services as a patriot. If he had been loyally supported by the Buchanan administration, and by the southern Democratic leaders, he would probably have been elected over Lincoln. Possibly he might have been elected notwithstanding the opposition of the southern leaders if he had received the support of the Buchanan administration.

What might have been the result if he had been elected is now only a matter of speculation. It is certain, however, that neither Douglas nor any other man could have reconciled the advocates and the opponents of the extension of slavery. Perhaps the election of Douglas might, for a time, have prolonged the Union, but it would also have given slavery a new lease of life, and as long as slavery continued it would have been a disturbing factor in politics and a menace to peace. It was impossible, as Lincoln had said, for the country to endure permanently half free and half slave. It must become all one or all the other. The South would never willingly have consented to its being all free and the North would never have consented to its being all slave. No peacemaker, no Supreme Court decision, no compromise could effect a lasting peace between Freedom and Slavery, and, without the entire reconstruction of the Union itself, there was but one way in which the slavery question could be finally settled and that was by the old method of wager of battle.

There are many other equally interesting passages. The chapter on "The Coming of Lincoln" shows with what eager expectancy the country awaited the announcement of the new President's policy—an untried man whom Southern writers were heralding to the country as the "Illinois ape." The author indicates the reversal of

this judgment in Southern opinion in better days and traces the triumph of Lincoln's wisdom and public policies in the early months of his trying administration. The story of Lincoln's early public days is full of interest. In fact, there is not an uninteresting page in the volume.

The appearance of this book adds to the prestige of Indiana authorship. Judge Howe has brought honor to the State. His book will be recognized as one of high merit throughout the country. It would interest and instruct any general reader who wishes to be informed on the subject with which it deals, while students and scholars in colleges and universities will find it valuable in the course of their studies in American history. It is likely to be found soon in all our college and university libraries and every public library in Indiana ought to see to it that its patrons have easy access to its pages. This volume is not expected to be one of the "best sellers," but there ought to be enough serious-minded readers in America interested in this great drama of our history and enough Indiana appreciation of such a work to bring to its author approval and encouragement.

Judge Howe's services as President of the Indiana Historical Society should be better known to the people of the State. Much of what the Society has accomplished in recent years for Indiana history has been owing to the faithfulness and efficiency of its president. The society has had very little State support. What has been done has been done by a few under Judge Howe's leadership, whose zeal has been unfailing. He deserves to be recognized as one of the worthy sons of the State who have helped to make and at the same time have helped to preserve the history of Indiana. He is not much in the public eye and the masses of his fellow-citizens may seldom hear his name. They may pass by unknowing and unheedful of his services and his work. But a hundred years from now, and after, when the names of many who are now in public office or in public comment have long since been forgotten, Judge Howe's name and his work will be known in the annals of his State and he will be listed as one of the Indiana worthies who have added something of lasting value to the life and honor of his native State. He has labored not with an eye to fame but with an eye to the greater verities and to the more permanent values.

There are many kinds of benefactions to the State. In his

writings and his collections Judge Howe's benefaction takes high rank. He will have his reward. It will not be in the applause of the multitude, but he will have the lasting appreciation of at least a few who will know and understand what his labors of love have brought in benefits not only to his day and generation but to the generations that are yet to come.

J. A. W.

## Minor Notices

### OLD SAMPLERS

MR. EDITOR—A year ago you very kindly published in your MAGAZINE a circular sent out by the "National Society of Colonial Dames of America in the State of Indiana," dealing with the work undertaken by the Society for the Preservation of Existing Records: to wit, oldest town and church records, family records in old Bibles, as well as the location of the oldest graveyards in the State and a report of their condition. Through the medium of your MAGAZINE the "Colonial Dames" interested several persons in the search but as the work undertaken is far from completion it is the hope of the Dames that the societies and individuals interested in the preservation of the early history of the State may at this time come to their assistance with additional information concerning records desired.

Besides the work undertaken by the National Society with which the Indiana Society is co-operating for the preservation of existing records, the "Massachusetts Society of Colonial Dames" has decided that one of its works shall be to collect and classify all American Samplers, and to supply the demand which seems a real one for a book on American Samplers, fully illustrated.

The "Indiana Society" has been asked to assist in the work of the "Massachusetts Society" and it appeals in this way to the citizens of the State for information about Samplers made prior to 1815, bearing the name of the maker and the date when they were worked. Already several samplers have been found and a description of them may be of interest to your readers.

The first, owned by Mrs. John B. Holton, Indianapolis, has a narrow hem cross-stitched down, two alphabets, capital and small, with this sentiment: "A grateful mind by owing owes not, but still pays at once, indebted and discharged," also names of teachers L. C. Keats and S. Keats of the "Domestic Academy, Washington, Ky., when Matilda Ward, born 1798, worked this Sampler in 1808."

The second belongs to Mrs. Samuel Elliott Perkins, Indianapolis, and was made by her grandmother. It has three alphabets, two worked in cross stitch, one in eyelet; design at the bottom, an ani-

mal (?), a tree, a vase with plant, child's name, Mary Turner, Fort Covington, New York, sixty-six sets of initials, beginning with those of the parents of the maker.

The third is owned by Mrs. Davis C. Buntin, of St. Louis. It has a wreath of roses as a border and this verse:

"By virtue ripened from the bud  
The flowers angelic odors breathe,  
The fragrant charm of being good  
Makes gaudy vice to smell like weeds."

Made by Margaretta Arabella Godman in 1808 when she was eight years old, at Baltimore, Md. Satin and cross stitch, the design was copied from brocade of her mother's wedding gown, wreath of mixed flowers surrounding chain around verse, below verse, wheat crossed and a small wreath of green.

These examples will give an idea of what is wanted for the book on American Samplers, materials for which is now being collected. It is the hope of the Committee entrusted with the work in Indiana that this communication in your valued MAGAZINE may be the means of discovering many Samplers owned by citizens who will assist the "Colonial Dames in Indiana" to make a representative collection for our State.

Printed blanks for the description of Samplers can be obtained from the Chairman of the Committee at the address given below.

MRS. EDWARD F. HODGES,  
302 Claypool Hotel, Indianapolis, Ind.

#### WHITE RIVER STEAMBOAT CO.

The following query by W. W. Stevens, of Baker, Oregon, has been received:

I have the account of an organization perfected February 27, 1819, called the "White River Steamboat Co." The organization was perfected at Palestine with commissioners present from Salem, Bloomington, Brownstown, Palestine, Orleans, Paoli, and Bono. It was decided that the boat should be of 75 tons burden and to be built at Bono; timbers in the main to be purchased by Jno. Depauw, who then had a sawmill at Millport on the Muscatatuck. Have you any means of ascertaining what became of the enterprise? From the best information I have at hand the boat was finished by Depauw, or at least he built one, and from what I learned some

years since the boat he built was the one here spoken of, the company failing to raise means to complete same.

No answer has been found further than the appended note from *Niles' Register* (Vol. 16, p. 224):

An association is formed in Indiana for the purpose of building a steamboat to ply on the waters of White river. The burden of the boat is to be 75 tons and it is to be built at Bono (on White river edge of Lawrence county).

#### "DRIFTWOOD"

The following observation respecting this name is taken from a letter written by MARY C. SHIRLEY, of Washington, Indiana:

You will probably remember telling the Daviess County Teachers' Association that the proper name for the East Fork of White river was Driftwood. This fall, while on a passenger train between here and Shoals, I heard an old man, who must have been eighty years of age, say, in reply to a question from a younger companion as to what stream we were looking out on, "We used to call it Driftwood when I was a boy, but I believe they call it White river now."

#### FREEMAN'S CORNER

The citizens of Orleans have recently become interested in the corners established in 1803 to mark the boundaries of the Indian Cession known as the Vincennes Cession. The general reservation was made at the Treaty of Greenville in 1795. At the Treaty of Fort Wayne, June 7, 1803, the following boundaries were agreed upon:

"And whereas, it has been found difficult to determine the precise limits of the said tract as held by the French and British Governments; it is hereby agreed that the boundaries of the said tract shall be as follows:

"Beginning at Point Coupee on the Wabash, and running thence by a line north  $78^{\circ}$ , west twelve miles, thence by a line parallel to the Wabash until it shall be intersected by a line at right angles to the same passing through the mouth of White river, thence by the last mentioned line across the Wabash and towards the Ohio, seventy-two miles, thence by a line north,  $12^{\circ}$  west, until it shall be intersected by a line at right angles to the same, passing through Point Coupee, and by the last mentioned line to the place of beginning."

The line was surveyed by Thomas Freeman in 1803. The tract, when laid off, was entirely surrounded by Indian lands. In order therefore to get all Indiana lands under one survey, Col. Jared Mansfield, then surveyor general, had the Second Principal Me-

ridian run through the northeast corner of the tract, and a base line run from the westernmost part of Clark's Grant. The base line is frequently called Buckingham's base line from Ebenezer Buckingham who surveyed it in 1804. These lines control in a general way the public surveys of the United States west of Ohio.

Lines from Freeman's Corner run through Point Coupee, about four miles south of Merom, on the Wabash, to the Greenville Treaty Line near Brookville, and to another of Freeman's Corners in the northwest part of Perry county. The first Freeman Corner mentioned is about one mile North of Orleans near the center of Section 19, r. 1 e., t. 3 n., the last is four miles West of Branchville in Section 18, r. 4 w., t. 2 s.

The following letter from George R. Wilson, a practical surveyor, is based on an examination of the records in the land office at Indianapolis:

As per my promise I am sending to you herewith a drawing I have made showing the east corner reached by Freeman; this is sometimes called the northeast corner. The southeast corner is in a creek in Perry county.

Freeman came from the west with his line, and turned south near Orleans. The south line he ran from the mouth of White river to a creek in Perry county. The north and south lines run south  $78^{\circ}$  east. He reached the corner in Perry county from the west and also from the north. The line on the east end runs south  $12^{\circ}$  west. His survey was made following his contract in 1802. The southeast corner is 40 south  $12^{\circ}$  west of the northeast corner.

#### A STATE CENTENNIAL PRIZE OFFER

At a time when all are preparing to celebrate the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Admission of Indiana to the Union, and when the currents of civilization which have gone to make up the State's entity are being considered by thinking people, it has seemed advisable to the Committee on Education of the German Alliance to offer two prizes for English essays on the subject of the influence of German culture, ideals, and civilization on the progress of the State.

The prizes will be: A first prize of \$70; a second prize of \$30.

The title of the essay is to be: THE INFLUENCE OF GERMAN CIVILIZATION ON THE STATE OF INDIANA. The contest is open to any student in any university, college or normal school in the State. The essays must not exceed ten thousand words in length, and should be typewritten, on one side of the paper. The contestant

must sign a motto to his essay; this motto should be written on the outside of an envelope in which are the candidate's name, address, school, and stamps for the return of the MS. This envelope, sealed, should be affixed to the MS. The prize essays are to become the property of the Alliance, which shall also have the right to publish them. The contest closes January 1, 1916. Should no essay of signal merit be submitted, the committee reserves the right to withhold the prizes. There will be five judges, whose appointment will be announced later.

Manuscripts are to be sent to Mr. Peter Scherer, Shortridge High School, Indianapolis.

JOSEPH KELLER, *President*,  
CARL DREISCH, *Secretary*.

B. J. Vos,  
PETER SCHERER,  
CARL OSTHAUS,  
F. G. MUTTERER,  
J. H. HENKE.

*Committee on Education.*

#### A NOTEWORTHY HISTORICAL PAINTING

Indiana has been backward in commemorating in pictorial art the great men and events of her history. Therefore the work of the Indiana Society of Sons of the Revolution in having painted a fine large oil portrait (7x3 feet in dimensions) of General George Rogers Clark is noteworthy, both as a precedent for other patriotic and historical societies and as an example of painstaking care in securing an artistic and comparatively accurate reproduction of the features, figure and dress of an historical character. The portrait was painted by Otto Stark, who, assisted by the chairman of the portrait committee of the Sons, made studies of the Jarvis and Jouet portraits of Clark and sought descriptions of him in the literature of the period. Clark is not represented at the early age, 26, when he captured Vincennes, but in middle life. The figure is standing, full length, and is clad in the general's uniform of the period, with a long military cloak draped from the shoulders, making a handsome and striking picture. This is the only oil portrait of General Clark in Indiana, except one of unknown origin and

authenticity at Vincennes University. It is also the finest portrait of Clark, artistically, in existence.

The unveiling of the portrait occurred at the annual dinner of the Sons at the Claypool Hotel, Indianapolis, October 19, 1914. In his address presenting the portrait to the Society, William Allen Wood, chairman of the portrait committee, recalled that the "particular purpose" of the Indiana Society of Sons of the Revolution is to perpetuate "the memory of the men who, in military, naval and civil service of the Colonies and of the Continental Congress, by their acts or counsel, achieved the Independence of Our Country"; that General Clark and his soldiers were the only connection of Indiana with the Revolutionary War, and that, therefore, it is particularly appropriate that the Sons, a Revolutionary society, should perpetuate the likeness and memory of this hero in a beautiful painting. Mr. Wood said that this portrait is meant as the contribution of the Indiana Sons to the centennial celebration of the admission of Indiana as a State and that the portrait will be hung in the State House and elsewhere, as the board of managers of the Sons may determine. However, it will remain the property of the Society and will be cared for by the Society. It was accepted on behalf of the Society by Judge John S. Tarkington, the retiring president. The other members of the portrait committee were Judge Robert W. McBride and Charles F. Remy.

Other historical and commemorative work done by the Indiana Sons includes the erection in several Indiana county courthouses of bronze tablets bearing the names of the Revolutionary soldiers buried in those counties.

#### AN EARLY POLL

The following record of an election held at Jeffersonville December 7, 8, 1802, is copied from the *National Genealogical Society Quarterly*, Vol. III, No. 4, January, 1915:

#### A LIST OF VOTERS OF CLARKE COUNTY, INDIAN TERRITORY, 1802.

James Ferguson	Charles Matthews
William Ferguson	Sam Gwathmay
George McCormick	George Jones
John Ferguson	John Jackson
Bazil Prather	George Huchleberry
George Wood	Jacob Ulmore

Leonard Bowman	Henry Reagan
James Davis	Henry Falt
Abraham Huckleberry	George Fait
Thomas Ferguson	Robert K. Moore
John McClintick	Aquila Rogers
Martin Huckleberry	James Walden
Andrew Mitchel	James Sweeney
John Nulin	Isaiah Casper
Samuel Cofman	Hugh Espy
Sam Applegate	John Prince
Valentine Storrer	Davis Floyd
Moses McCann	Samuel Kay
Peter Smith	Michael Lee
Ephriam Arnold	Elisha Kerr
William Smith	John Ruth
Mathias Crumb	John Baldwin
Henry Bulof	William Clark
Abraham Epler	Peter McDonald

Votes were cast for John H. Wood (35), Charles Beggs (29), William Clark (16), and Davis Floyd (16).

The Poll appears in full and is certified as follows:

Clarke County, Indiana Territory :

We do hereby certify that the foregoing is a true copy of the poll kept at the election of members for the General Convention held at Jeffersonville, on the 7th and 8th of December, 1802.

Given under our hands,

HUGH ESPY,  
JOHN DOUTHITT,  
*Poll Keepers.*

INDIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

(Indianapolis *News*, January, 1915)

The annual meeting of the Indiana Historical Society was held December 31, afternoon, in the Union Trust Building. The following officers were re-elected: President, Daniel Waite Howe; vice-presidents, Charles W. Moores, William E. English, and Professor James A. Woodburn; corresponding secretary, Professor C. B. Coleman; recording secretary, Jacob P. Dunn; treasurer, Charles E. Coffin; executive committee, John H. Holliday, Addison C. Harris, George S. Cottman, Charles Martindale, Eliza G. Browning.

A communication from Jesse Weik, of Greencastle, asking for indorsement of movement to mark the highway over which the Lincoln family emigrated from Indiana, and a request that a movement

for creating an Indiana historical commission be endorsed, were referred to the executive committee with power to act. It was voted to contribute not to exceed \$200 to the *Indiana Magazine of History* and to pay \$1.00 for each member receiving the publication. The treasurer reported a balance of \$3,874.44 in the treasury, of which \$3,400 is invested in mortgage securities.

The following were elected to membership: B. F. Kinnick, Greenwood, John E. Hampton, Indianapolis, George L. Harding, Bloomington, Minnie Catherine McIntire, Valparaiso, Louise Tyrrel Fogel, Bourbon, Bona Thompson library, Irvington, George O. Dix, Terre Haute, William Darroch, Kempston, John C. Cheney, Sullivan, Charles W. Fairbanks, Indianapolis, Richard M. Elliott, Connersville, Vinson Carter, Indianapolis, John O. Bower, Gary, Frank E. Gavin, Indianapolis, John H. Kipplinger, Rushville, Frank Ellis, Muncie.

During the year, prior to the meeting yesterday, the following were elected to membership: Prof. W. W. Sweet, Greencastle, Mrs. Clara Ingram Judson, Richmond; Mrs. Martha Brandriff Hanna, Ft. Wayne, Mrs. Newbery Howe, Delphi, Mrs. Otto Roth, Bloomington, Rev. John Poucher, Orleans, L. A. Meier, Vincennes, Isaac E. Schoonover, Covington, Prof. Francis M. Stalker, Terre Haute, Mrs. J. R. McKee, New York City, E. H. Wolcott, Mrs. Henry W. Beck, Albert Rabb, Mr. and Mrs. Henry W. Bennett, Mrs. Arthur Stanley Brooks, Mrs. William J. Brown, Mrs. Kate Noble Dean, Randall C. Dean, Mrs. Edgar H. Evans, Dr. and Mrs. E. F. Hodges, Mrs. John H. Holliday, Mrs. J. S. Holliday, Mrs. Frank E. Gavin, Mrs. William A. Guthrie, Merrill Moores, Mrs. Frank Morrison, Mrs. T. A. Wagner, and Mrs. Benjamin D. Wolcott, of Indianapolis.

#### CUMBERLAND ROAD

The following letter to Lazarus B. Wilson was furnished by his daughter, Alma Winston Wilson, now connected with the Indianapolis City Library. Mr. Wilson was one of the most distinguished of the early civil engineers of the State. Aside from his work on the National Road he was the chief engineer on the survey of the Monon railroad. Jonathan Knight, the writer of the letter, was commissioner of the National Road. Knightstown, Indiana, laid out the same year this letter was written, was named for him.

BALTIMORE, April 27, 1827.

To Lazarus B. Wilson:

I have been at Washington, and have just been permitted by the Department to employ an agent whose business it shall be to proceed along the several contemplated routes for the extension of the Cumberland Road west of Zanesville, and to procure the relinquishments of damages from the proprietors of lands both on account of the roads passing through their lands and for materials for its construction.

I have therefore determined on giving this appointment to thyself, believing, that from the knowledge possessed by thee, both with regard to the country and the people, thee will be able to accomplish the trust in a manner which may redound to the best interests of the Government.

I may make an allowance for this service, not to exceed two dollars and fifty cents per day. If a horse is employed in the service by the agent, and which is believed will be necessary, the pay will perhaps be the amount just stated. I shall pass by Philadelphia home, where I shall expect thy answer to this letter. Direct to Beallsville, Washington County, Pa.

I am informed by Joseph Shriver that thee will probably be in Wheeling, Va. I therefore direct this letter to that point.

In thy answer please state the place whereto I may forward the requisite instructions, provided, thee will engage in the business.

Respectfully,

J. KNIGHT, *Commissioner.*

JOHN S. DUNCAN

John S. Duncan, sixty-nine years old, a lawyer in Indianapolis for forty-seven years and considered as one of the ablest advocates at the bar in the entire state, died at 5 o'clock, November 28, 1914, at his home at 1322 North Alabama street.

Mr. Duncan was born in Indianapolis January 11, 1846, and this city was his home throughout his life. He graduated from the Harvard Law School and early in 1867 he was admitted to the practice of law in the Marion County Courts. He had been engaged in the law practice less than a year when Governor Morton appointed him as prosecuting attorney to fill the unexpired term of W. W. Leathers, who had resigned. At the expiration of his commission he was elected to serve a full term as prosecutor. He never held public office after this, his political activity in later life being limited to the making of campaign speeches in behalf of the Republican Party, with which he was affiliated. He was an earnest supporter of Benjamin Harrison when he was a candidate for President.

As a prosecuting attorney Mr. Duncan achieved success and he

attracted attention throughout the state by his prosecution of the famous Clem murder case. In the prosecution of this case he was assisted by Gen. Benjamin Harrison, William P. Fishback and John T. Dye.

He soon became noted both in the prosecution and defense of important criminal cases. For a period of twenty years he participated in practically all the noted criminal cases tried in many counties of the State. While he was best known as a criminal lawyer he also had a big practice in the trial of civil cases.

When he first began his practice, Mr. Duncan became a partner of his father, Robert B. Duncan, who had been clerk of the Marion County Circuit Court for nearly thirty years and who was regarded as an authority on probate law. The firm was known as that of R. B. and J. S. Duncan until 1877 when Charles W. Smith became a member of it. After several years the senior Mr. Duncan retired from the practice. Later John R. Wilson, a brother-in-law of Mr. Duncan, became a member of the firm, remaining as such until 1899 when he was elected clerk of the Marion County Circuit Court. After that the partnership was known as Duncan & Smith until about 1896 when Henry H. Hornbrook, a son-in-law of Mr. Smith, was added to the firm. Later, Albert P. Smith, a son of Charles W. Smith, entered the firm.

In 1864 Mr. Duncan, then 18 years old, enlisted in the Union army as a member of the One Hundred and Thirty-second Indiana Regiment. His service, however, was for only 100 days and he was not engaged in any battle.

Mr. Duncan was first married December 24, 1867, to Esther Wallace, a daughter of William Wallace, who was a son of Governor David Wallace and a brother of Gen. Lew Wallace. Mrs. Duncan died February 18, 1902. His second wife was Mrs. Perlie E. Haynes, of Richmond. Their marriage took place November 16, 1907. Mr. Duncan's mother, who was Mary Saunders, was a daughter of Dr. John Saunders, who was for many years one of the leading physicians of Indianapolis.

From his boyhood Mr. Duncan had been a member of the Central Christian church. He was a member of the official board of the church for many years. He had no affiliation with a secret society.

Besides his widow, Mr. Duncan is survived by a daughter, Mrs. Charles M. Malott, and a sister, Mrs. John R. Wilson.

**ALLISON MAXWELL**

Dr. Allison Maxwell died at his home in Woodruff Place, Indianapolis, January, 1915. He was born at Bloomington, Indiana, September 24, 1848. He was the son of Dr. James D. Maxwell, and the grandson of Dr. David Maxwell, one of the first trustees of Indiana University and a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1816. Dr. Allison Maxwell graduated from Indiana University in 1868, taking the A. M. degree in 1871. He received his medical training at Miami Medical College, Cincinnati, graduating in 1876. He married Cynthia A. Routh, of Indianapolis, May 31, 1883. He began the practice of medicine at Indianapolis in 1876 and has since made his home there. He was professor of the Practice of Medicine in the University School of Medicine, had served two terms on Indianapolis Board of Public Health, was a member of the Board of School Commissioners three years, a member of the Indiana State Medical Society, and Commercial Club.

**GEORGE W. MILES**

George W. Miles, 56 years old, Indiana fish and game commissioner, died December 28, 1914, at his home in Syracuse. He had been afflicted with cancer for several years, but, despite the gradual loss of strength that accompanied the disease, he continued his duties as one of the state's officials until November 3, when he returned to his home to vote and was forced to take to his bed.

Mr. Miles was born at Syracuse and spent his entire life in that region. His close connection with Lake Wawasee, Indiana's largest lake, fitted him well for the office of game and fish commissioner, to which he was appointed four years ago by Governor Marshall.

**ISAAC W. BROWN**

Isaac W. Brown, 66 years old, famous over the middle West as "Col. Brown, the bird and bee man," died August 25, 1914, at his home in Rochester, Ind., of acute indigestion after an illness of six days. He leaves a widow and two sons, Ray, of Seymour, Ind., and Dewitt, of Florida; two brothers, Will, of Tipton, and James, of Hoopeston, Ill., and three sisters, Mrs. Mel Thurber, of New York, Mrs. Lizzie Culler, of Indianapolis, and Mrs. Nellie Rowley, of Rochester. Mr. Brown had lectured in twenty-six states and was at one time a protege of Helen Gould, now Mrs. Shepherd. He had studied law, at one time being associated at Williamsport with Joseph Rabb, former appellate court judge.

## Reviews and Notes

### THE "READINGS IN INDIANA HISTORY"—SOME CRITICISMS

This MAGAZINE and the "Extension Department" of the University have received a number of highly appreciative expressions concerning the *Readings in Indiana History* issued by the University last fall under the editorship of a Committee of the History Section of the State Teachers' Association. A number of schools have ordered copies of this book and there is evidence that it has done a good deal to promote interest in and knowledge of Indiana in our school life. We are pleased to be able to print this good letter from Judge Daniel Waite Howe, President of the Indiana Historical Society, written to Professor Woodburn:

Indianapolis, November 1, 1914.

My Dear Friend:

I received on last Saturday the volume of *Readings in Indiana History* for which I wish to thank you and the Publication Committee. I have already read a large part of the volume with great interest. It is at once apparent that an immense amount of time and labor has been expended in getting this collection together. Its value is equally apparent. It will stimulate in the schools, a new interest in the study of Indiana History, make our children and our children's children realize the fact that Indiana has a history, a history to be proud of, and impress them with a desire to know more about it.

It will furnish the future historians of Indiana with valuable material. Most persons, even those familiar with the method of making historical investigations, would be at a loss to know where to look for much of the information here collected in compact and convenient form, and the difficulty of searching for it would be largely increased by the fact that so many of the authorities are practically inaccessible to those who do not know just where to find them.

I hope that the present volume is only the precursor of others of a similar kind and that the next Indiana Legislature will make a suitable appropriation to aid the committee in its useful labors in behalf of the State.

Please express my warmest thanks to the members of the committee and especially to Mr. Esarey, assuring them that I, for one, at least, appreciate the value of their labors.

I am as ever sincerely your friend,

DANIEL WAIT HOWE.

The following letter also concerning the *Readings in Indiana History* has been received. The criticism is just and the defect pointed out can not be remedied until the historical materials of the State are in a more available condition:

Indianapolis, January 19, 1915.

Dear Sir:

I am enjoying the *Readings in Indiana History*, which I believe was prepared by you. I congratulate you on the good work you are doing. May I make one suggestion? The early period from the settlement of Cincinnati to the financial distress and the opening of the "New Purchase" was largely influenced by and from the Whitewater Country. That region from Lawrenceburg to the National Road played a part in every important thing. Brookville was the head of immigration, it was the centre of activity in business, politics, etc., and was the point of diffusion to the new territory as rapidly as it opened up. The recollections of Wm. McClure, Rev. T. A. Goodwin, Rev. Dr. L. D. Potter, and others published in the early Brookville papers and statements made by the original settlers and doubtless preserved by their descendants should be available. Also similar material from Lawrenceburg and other points.

It has seemed to me that this publication and some others do not get the right setting and do not have exactly the right point because of the omission of the many important relationships sustained by the Whitewater region to the settlement and development of the State.

Perhaps I would magnify that region too much and its part. I grew up there. My people came to it in 1803. I know its story. What do you think?

Yours, etc.,

(Signed) AMOS W. BUTLER.

The following criticism by Hon. John W. Foster carries weight since his own memory reaches back distinctly to the period in question:

Washington, D. C.

The children of today in our public school, in reading the editorial introduction to "The Slavery Contest in Indiana," will form the opinion that the majority of the people of Indiana in the fifties were opposed to the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 and resisted the efforts of the slave owners to recover their runaway slaves.

I think this is an erroneous statement of the facts as they existed in Indiana at that period. The Democratic Party was in the ascendant in the State, its members of Congress, both Senators and Representatives, were committed to the strict enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law and the adherents of that party generally favored the recognition of the constitutional right of the slaveholders to their property in their slaves. The members of the Whig Party, then the minority party in Indiana, supported Henry Clay's compromise measures, including the Fugitive Slave Law. Only

a small band of people, known as Abolitionists, openly opposed this law and gave aid and secret protection to runaway slaves. The change which appeared in public sentiment after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, was based upon opposition to the extension of slavery north of 36° 30', and had no relation to the Fugitive Slave Law, although the latter doubtless was repugnant to very many of the inhabitants.

Yours very truly,

JOHN W. FOSTER.

*In My Youth.* From the Posthumous Papers of Robert Dudley.

Published by the Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis,  
pp. 493. 1914.

The above puzzle was placed before the reading public a few weeks ago. It is the title to one of the most attractive books on Hoosier life and history which has appeared since the *Hoosier Schoolmaster* was published. As the title implies, the author, presumably an old person, tells his imaginary grandchildren of the times and conditions under which he grew up. The author pretends to be, or to have been a Quaker. The author's home, though not definitely given, seems to have been about Plainfield. The time is about the middle of the century. The author was quite a lad when the railroad was finished to Indianapolis. Before that time his father frequently drove to Lawrenceburg to do the annual trading. The father was a man of some prominence, being well acquainted with Governor Joseph A. Wright, then in office. The story would seem to cover the period from about 1835 to 1852.

For his subject matter the author takes the whole round of pioneer life. The hard work, the exposure, the mean house, the poor roads, the hidebound routine, and the homely fare are matched with the voracious appetites, the careless plodding, the country scenery, the sparkling fire, the warm though ill-fitting clothes, and the rugged manly strength. The daily, weekly, or yearly grind of duties loses its harshness when seen through the mists of memory. The superstitions and formalities of the times and of the church and schools are sympathetically pointed out in a style mellowed by the wide vision and broad tolerance of a green old age. The social life of the community, the house raising, the log-rolling, the quilting the Sunday-after-meeting-dinners, the circus, all these give an insight into the life and character of the times. Woven into these details of home life is an intensely amusing, matter-of-fact love

story, with its attempted elopement and final formal marriage in the church. The whole is woven into a story that refuses to be put off.

The writer's style is easy and unnoticeable. He carries no detail to the point of impatience, in fact he has a kind of Kipling way of breaking off and returning abruptly to the main story when he feels that he has wandered some distance on a bypath. The story seems to be one that will take its place along with the *Hoosier Schoolmaster*, *Circuit Rider* and the *New Purchase* as a portrayal of Hoosier life.

*Semi-Centennial History of West Virginia.* By JAMES MORTON CALLAHAN, Professor of History and Political Science, West Virginia University. With Special Articles on Development and Resources. Published by the Semi-Centennial Commission, pp. ix,<sup>+</sup> 594.

The State of West Virginia was a half century old June 20, 1913. As a part of the celebration of that event a commission published the history of the State named above. The first three hundred pages are devoted to a strictly historical narrative prepared by Professor Callahan. The history of West Virginia is not different in general outline from that of other states of the Ohio Valley. First comes the struggle with the Indians, nowhere more romantic than in West Virginia. Then comes the story of the settlements, the clearing of the forest, the opening of the farms, and the organization of society. The period following the settlement was characterized by the struggle for roads, canals, turnpikes and navigable rivers.

While the State was struggling with these problems and involved with the tidewater counties, the catastrophe of the Civil War broke over the great State. The experience of West Virginia has not been repeated. No other State is the result of a rebellion, and no other State government has been organized under such conditions as those in Virginia from 1861 to 1863.

The book shows evidence of careful investigation. The historical data have been collected, arranged, and organized with care. The divisions of the subject-matter show a keen insight and appreciation of western history and character. In this part of the work

there is ample room for praise. But when one considers the style of writing, the typography and the mechanical execution of the book he will have to search long for anything that merits approval. The long involved sentences defy analysis or comprehension. Take for illustration the last sentence on page 14. It extends through fourteen lines of print and has three parenthetical remarks. Sentences eight and ten lines long are common. On the next page, 15, are two sentences of eight lines each. It is hardly necessary to point out the frequent difficulties in determining the exact meaning. On page 17 is the following sentence: "All these settlements were at that time in Orange county (formed from Spotsylvania in 1734 which extended to the 'utmost limits of Virginia' including in its boundaries all of what is now West Virginia, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois." Even had the parenthesis been completed and a few commas inserted it would still have been difficult enough to interpret it.

The proofreading seems to have been entirely neglected. A list of errata at the beginning points out a few of the omissions, but only a few. On page 12, we find "Gualey" for Gauley and "lead" for led or leads; on page 14, "slave's" for slaves; on page 16, "Mechlenberg" for Mecklenberg. The list might be extended indefinitely. These errors are not properly chargeable to the author and yet they detract largely from the value and attractiveness of the book. There is a tendency to overstatement which often puts a cautious reader on his guard. Take the following sentence from page 21: "The French with their savage allies bore down with relentless fury upon the West Virginia border and around these primitive forts were enacted many tragedies and dramas of the wilderness." One is tempted to question the "relentlessness" of the fury and to wonder just what is the distinction between the forest "tragedy" and "drama."

The last half of the volume is taken up with a series of papers having no apparent value. It was doubtless necessary for each member of the commission to get his name connected with the report. Had the money spent on the whole book been spent in improving the historical part, the book would have been far more creditable. One can not help feeling that Professor Callahan was hampered in his work by the commission. The organization, the division, and the general understanding of the State's History by

the author are excellent beyond question, and it is most unfortunate that such work was marred by the undue haste or lack of funds for publication.

*Studies in Southern History and Politics.* Inscribed to WILLIAM ARCHIBALD DUNNING, Ph.D., LL.D., Lieber Professor of History and Political Philosophy in Columbia University, by his former pupils, the AUTHORS. Published by the Columbia University Press, New York, 1914, pp. viii+394.

The above named volume consists of fifteen papers prepared by the former students of Professor Dunning. The first is "Deportation and Colonization," by Walter L. Fleming, Professor of History in the Louisiana State University. The second paper is entitled "Literary Movement for Secession," and is written by Ulrich B. Phillips, Professor of American History in the University of Michigan. The third paper is on "The Frontier and Secession," written by Professor Charles William Ramsdell, University of Texas. The fourth paper is entitled "The French Consuls in the Confederate States," written by Milledge L. Bonham, of Louisiana State University. The fifth paper is entitled "The Judicial Interpretation of the Confederate Constitution," is written by Dr. Sidney D. Brummer. The sixth paper is written by J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, of the University of North Carolina, and is entitled "Southern Legislation in Respect to Freedmen." The seventh paper is on "Carpet-Baggers in the United States Senate" and is written by C. Mildred Thompson, of Vassar College. The eighth is "Grant's Southern Policy," written by Prof. Edwin C. Wooley, of the University of Wisconsin. The ninth paper is on "The Federal Enforcement Acts" and is written by Prof. William Watson Davis, of the University of Kansas. The tenth paper is by Prof. W. Roy Smith, of Bryn Mawr College, on "Negro Suffrage in the South." The eleventh paper is on "Some Phases of Educational History in the South Since 1865," by Prof. William K. Boyd, Trinity College, North Carolina. The twelfth paper is on "The New South, Economic and Social," written by Professor Holland Thompson, College of the City of New York. The thirteenth paper is by Prof. Charles E. Merriam, University of Chicago, and is entitled "The Political Philosophy of John C. Calhoun." The fourteenth paper is entitled "Southern Political Theories" and is written by Prof.

David Y. Thomas, University of Arkansas. The fifteenth paper and last is written by the editor of the whole volume, Prof. James W. Garner, University of Illinois, and is entitled "Southern Politics Since the Civil War."

The papers are uniformly well written. Though not of equal interest to all readers, each has a charm and interest of its own. Each by itself is a readable essay while all taken together make a fairly comprehensive history of the South since 1850. Professor Dunning has long been recognized as the foremost authority on the period of American History known as Reconstruction. These essays will not only contribute to his reputation in that field but add to his reputation as a teacher. Nothing could better show the wide influence of a great teacher than such a volume. In typography and mechanical execution in general the book is faultless.

*History of the United States.* By MATTHEW PAGE ANDREWS, M. A.

Published by J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia, 1914,  
pp. xvii+388+clvii.

The text-book problem will never be solved. The perfect text must have a due regard for the pupils who use it, for the canons of pedagogy, for the facts of the subject-matter, for the demands of literature, and for the spirit of the times. A new departure in any of these fields is fatal to the written text-book, and since no one of these factors is fixed, changes come often, necessitating frequent changes in texts. Like Caesar's lieutenant, a restless publisher frequently reports a change where none exists merely for the sake of selling a new book. Mr. Page has availed himself of the latest work in historical research on the one hand and has thrown more emphasis on recent history on the other, both of which are valuable novelties in his text. In the way of pedagogy and interest he has made two valuable innovations. He has preserved the narrative all the way through and has illustrated it with nearly 200 maps and engravings. Not only the number but the vividness and historical accuracy of the illustrations are noteworthy. Black-letter paragraph heads and marginal notes help to preserve the narrative and serve as an analysis of the text. A few suggestive questions or topics for discussion are appended to each chapter but no long and generally useless bibliography is printed. It is an admirable volume for school use and should find a wide patronage.

*The United Presbyterian Church of Princeton—History of a Hundred Years.* Compiled by GILBERT R. STORMONT, Terre Haute, 1911. 115 pages.

In 1895 the United Presbyterian Church of Princeton celebrated its eighty-fifth anniversary. A number of papers, historical in character, were read on that occasion. It was resolved at the time to have these published in book form but nothing was done beyond collecting and preserving the papers. In 1910 the centennial of the church was celebrated. On this occasion other historical addresses were delivered and were added to the collection already in the hands of the committee.

The church was founded by Rev. John Kell. The committee was able to include in its volume portraits of each of the nine pastors except the founder. It is rather remarkable that the church should have had only nine pastors in a century, an average of over eleven years each. Rev. John McMaster served from 1846 to 1874. His father, Gilbert McMaster, preceded him, having served from 1840 to 1846; while his son, W. H. McMaster, followed him, serving from 1874 to 1881. Father, son, and grandson thus served the church continuously from May 5, 1840, to November 15, 1881.

The congregation built its first small log church in 1820. In 1836 this gave way for a square, one-story brick. In 1858 a more pretentious building with steeple and pointed windows was erected. Finally, in 1898, through the generosity of Mrs. Ann Eliza Woods Hudelson, the present building was constructed. Cuts of these churches are included in the centennial volume.

*Legislative Bill Drafting* is the title of Bulletin No. 3 of the Indiana Bureau of Legislative Information. It was issued December, 1914. The booklet of 36 pages deals in a general way with the forms, limitations and general requirements of legislative bills. First, the powers and fields of legislation reserved exclusively by Congress are pointed out. Second, are enumerated those powers which are exercised concurrently by State and Nation. Third, are those specifications laid down by the State Constitution, without which the bill if enacted will be unconstitutional. Fourth and last, under the headings of "Style" are some general directions, such as dividing the bill into paragraphs, writing proper headings, or captions, preamble, emergency clauses, repealing paragraphs, and en-

acting clauses. The booklet is useful not only to legislators but even more especially to citizens in general. It should be observed that these bulletins are written in a non-technical style that makes them especially suitable for school use.

THE *Proceedings* of the Thirty-Fifth Annual Session of the Department of Indiana Grand Army of the Republic has been received by the MAGAZINE through the courtesy of J. R. Fesler, Assistant Adjutant-General. It is a volume of 148 pages, containing a record of the last State Encampment together with the official report made at the time. It shows 312 Posts in operation with 11,121 members. The Roll of Honor shows that 592 were finally "mustered out" during the year 1913. The "Survey" would appreciate any of the back numbers of the *Proceedings*. They contain valuable statistics for State History, and a full file for the State University Library is desired.

#### FRENCH EXPLORATIONS OF THE NORTHWEST

Work along the above lines is being pushed at present by Illinois and Michigan. After a great deal of work had been done independently it was found best to unite the energies and means of all the States interested.

The first important co-operative work undertaken by the Western historical institutions, namely, the calendaring of the documents in the archives of Paris, is almost completed; and the question has arisen in two institutions—the Illinois State Historical Library and the Michigan Historical Commission—as to the methods of publishing these documents. These two institutions, without consultation, made plans some time ago to publish series of volumes on the French explorations and work thereon has been done on both. A difficulty has arisen as to the division of the field between them; and after several friendly discussions it seemed best that they should call a meeting of the persons directly in charge of the publication work in the various states equally interested to discuss a still larger question, namely, the possibility of one general collection of the French documents. This meeting was held at Chicago during the session of the American Historical Association.

PROFESSOR LAWRENCE GIPSON, of Wabash College, addressed the History Club of Indiana University at its last fortnightly meeting before the holidays. Professor Gipson took for his subject "The Influence of Thomas Paine in the American Revolution." The speaker accorded Paine a high place among the leaders of that movement. He pointed out that the odium that later attached to Paine's name was caused by his activities and writings in connection with the French Revolution. The Club was pleased to have Professor Gipson as its guest and a large crowd was out to enjoy his address.

CAPTAIN WALLACE FOSTER

In the *Volta Review* of September, 1914, is a brief biography of Captain Foster, known locally as the "Flag man," from his great interest in the National Flag. Captain Foster is deaf as a result of exposure in the Civil War. A full page portrait accompanies the biography.

In the same number of the *Volta Review* are two full-page pictures of Tecumseh, one representing him in the act of tomahawking General Harrison at the Vincennes Council in 1811, the other represents him on horseback tomahawking a defenseless prisoner. It is worth while to point out that neither picture represents any historical fact, and both are unjust to the character of the Indian chief.

THE *Zeta Telegram*, an occasional publication of the Zeta Chapter of the Phi Gamma Delta, made its appearance January 1, 1915. It is a resume of the history of the fraternity, and especially of the local chapter that issued it, for the past year. R. G. Hastings, of Washington, Indiana, is editor.

THE *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* for October, 1914, contains a detailed account of the dedication of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society Building recently erected by the State of Ohio on the campus of the State University. The Society was organized in 1876, Senator Allen G. Thurman having been its first president. This fine building puts Ohio in a class with Wisconsin, Kansas and Iowa in regard to the care taken

to preserve its historical materials. The building cost about \$125,000.

THE *Princeton Clarion-News* continues to publish articles by Col. Gil. R. Stormont on the early political campaigns of the Republican party. The articles are gaining in interest as the author warms up to his subject. It is to be hoped he will carry them down to the present, mixing in more and more of the local and personal flavor. A political story has perennial interest to Indiana readers.

THE *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society* for January contains an account of the Battle of New Orleans by A. C. Quisenberry, with full page portraits of General Jackson, Governors Gabriel Slaughter, and John Adair, the former on horseback. The article is especially valuable for its biographical details.

# INDIANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

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## Steam-boating on the Ohio and Mississippi Before the Civil War

Memoirs of CAPT. WILSON DANIELS, of Troy, Indiana. Edited by  
PRESTON A. BARBA, Ph.D., Indiana University.

During a recent trip to Tell City, Ind., made for the purpose of collecting material for a history of that interesting Swiss settlement on the Ohio, there came to my notice a manuscript containing the memoirs printed below. The manuscript is in the possession of Mr. Louis Zoercher, editor of the Tell City *News*, who has very generously placed it at my disposal. These memoirs deserve to be published, not only because they reflect an interesting phase of river life in America, but also because their author was one who had witnessed the growth of river steamboating almost from its infancy, a rare old man, himself a pilot for sixty years. Capt. Wilson H. Daniel was born in Troy, Ind., on May 25, 1824. On September 8, 1840, the young man began his career on the Ohio and Mississippi by becoming an apprentice as steersman. He served steadily in that capacity from 1840 to 1896, and irregularly after that time, spending in all about sixty years of his life on the rivers. In his latter years he wrote a book which was published under the title "Sixty Years of Steamboating." Captain Daniel had acquired considerable wealth but he lost heavily during the Civil War, and again later upon the failure of some steamboat companies. In spite of these reverses he retained his bright and optimistic temperament to the end. His long and interesting life came to a close in Jasper, Ind., May 29, 1914, a few days after the ninetieth anniversary of his birth. During his many years as river-pilot he had ample opportunity to study men and their ways, but he was also not without book learning. He was a great reader down to his last days, and was recognized as a well informed man.

P. A. B.

On the eighth day of September, in the year eighteen hundred and forty, I left this beautiful little town, Troy, Indiana, nestling on the banks of the great Ohio river, my place of birth and nativity, on

the steamer "Water Witch," for New Orleans, with Capt. Isaac Wright, my mother's brother, whom she had not seen for twenty-four years. She was but a small child when he left this place for the South with a flatboat loaded with bulk pork. At Natchez, Miss., he transferred his cargo to a keel boat and cordelled it up Red river to Natchitoches, La., and there disposed of his cargo and bought the keel and followed keel boating between those two points and kept it up for a number of years. This proved a success.

In the spring of 1840 he came home for the first time for twenty-four years to see his parents and relatives, and to build a steamboat for that trade. You may imagine the rejoicing that ensued at the meeting of a lost son and father and mother, who were quite aged, nephews and nieces he had never seen. Things had materially changed since his departure. He remained a short time and proceeded to New Albany, Indiana, to build or buy a steamboat for the Red river trade. He prevailed on my mother to allow me to go with him in the capacity of second clerk. He depicted the allurements, the sights and beauties, the money there was in store for me, the salubrious clime of the South, alligators, bear, deer, and panthers, etc., until my childish mind was wrought up to such a frenzy that sleep was entirely forgotten. As soon as it was known to my playmates and school fellows that I was going away to that New Orleans which was then considered by us here out of the world, my friends came from far and near to see me and talk over our old times. Many of them predicted I never would get back and did many things to discourage me. Some of their arguments were so forcible, especially by the young ladies, that my mind was all in a muddle, but as time passed on, and while waiting to hear from the boat, my mind became more and more reconciled.

At last news came. The boat would soon be here, in a few days at least. Then my troubles began to show. The playmates would congregate at my mother's in the evening and predict everything bad and this was not very pleasant to the ears of my poor old mother and she was loath to see me leave, and didn't give me very much encouragement. All this kept my mind very much at sea and troubled. Mother had made me a fine suit of Fried Jeans clothes and a new pair of shoes. The last they were made on I think was a brick bat from the shape, and a cap made of some kind of an animal. It was not a coon, but I think it was called a hair seal.

The boat got in late in the evening and remained all night and

the next day till noon. All relations and friends congregated at mother's house to see us off and sat up all night talking. I laid down but no sleep for me. My heart and mind were too heavy for slumber. When I crawled out of my feather bed Thursday, in front of me on a chair lay my new suit with instructions to put them on so my friends could see how they fit. I crawled into them and began viewing from head to foot, no looking-glass in my room to assist me. After all were in shape I felt abashed somewhat, to be rigged up in such fine harness, as it was the finest I had ever worn and everybody was looking at me with a gaze that made me shudder. But I picked up courage to enter the room where the friends were waiting for breakfast. As soon as I entered the room, all exclaimed at the same time: What a pretty suit! How nicely it fits! etc. At last old aunt Nellie Lincoln, the one who spun and wove the cloth, and an aunt of Abraham Lincoln, our martyred president, came from the kitchen and said to me: "Come here, Wilson, let Aunt Nellie look at your fine clothes." She led me to the door to the light and after looking thoroughly, exclaimed: "That's the finest suit of clothes ever was in the town of Troy." That remark relieved me of a heavy load, I assure you. Then Capt. Wright came to look and mother said: "Isaac, do you think them clothes good enough to go on a steamboat?" He remarked they were fine and the very things to wear on a cotton boat, as the cotton would not stick to them.

After breakfast was over we commenced to pack my trunk, a very small one at that, an old-fashioned hair trunk, just a box covered with hog skin and not much larger than a loaf of bread. In it were six pairs of yarn socks, and another pair of pants, and no underwear at all, for in those days no person wore underclothing. It was too expensive to be afforded.

Well, after we had gotten my little old hair trunk packed, I took it on my shoulder and started down the middle of the street for the boat, only one square from my mother's house, and had to pass by the house that a beautiful young lady lived in and one whom I thought was as sweet as a pumpkin and pretty as red shoes, and I was more than anxious to get by her without being discovered by the young lady, as I knew she would make some remark about my new suit. I proceeded on down the middle of the street, my trunk on my shoulder, headed straight for the boat and just as I got opposite the door where this young lady lived, she threw the door wide

open and commenced singing a comic song she had learned from a song book. The song was something like this (sung loud as she could, so every one could hear) :

"Here he comes dressed from his head to his toe,  
Just look at the riggin' of Billy Barlow,"

and thus kept the song going until I got to the river. I thought for a moment I would turn around and say a cuss word at her, but my mother had taught me to always be polite to every one, especially to ladies.

After getting under the river bank, hidden from the gaze of the town people, I felt very much relieved, but unfortunately ran into a much worse predicament, for just as I was approaching the walk plank on the boat, here came a nigger porter to take my trunk on the boat; says he: "Wha is you gwine? Is you a passenger on dis boat?" I, boy-like, told him all. "What you gwine to do dar? Is you gwine to wah dem kind a close down dar in de big city? Dems de kine of close niggers wah in ole Forginney wha I come frum."

Well, I thought to myself, won't people ever get tired of talking about my clothes. I thought I would put them aside and never put them on again, and when I got back to my house, the first thing that greeted my ears was: "What did the folks say about your new suit on the boat?"

Well, I went in to the garden and sat down and took a big cry and thought to myself "d—m these clothes, I will never put them on again!" While I was relieving the strain on my mind by sobs and tears, old Aunt Nellie Lincoln came and threw her arms around my neck and said: "Now, my dear boy, don't cry any more and be a good boy, and all will be right, and we will all write to you, and every flatboat that goes from here we will send you some nice presents." But I said: "Aunt Nellie, if the people would quit looking at me all the time, it would all be right, but every one has something to say to me about my clothes." She remarked: "That's because they are the finest clothes in the town, and you ought to be proud of them."

While Aunt Nellie was trying to soothe my troubles, dinner was announced. Mother came to the door and said, "Come, my dear boy, and eat your last dinner with your poor mother," and that remark started anew my already troubled mind which had somewhat been allayed by the loving and kind talk of old Aunt Nellie's. We

all took seats at the table and among the luxuries we had a pot-pie made of squirrels with a plethora of rich gravy. My plate was helped heaping full of dumplings, squirrel and gravy, and amongst the plateful was the hind leg of the squirrel, quite large and tough, too. I tried to carve it, but without any success, scared all the time for fear of getting grease on my new clothes, but said nothing. Finally mother said: "You have a tough piece. It can't be cut." So Aunt Nellie says: "Take it in your fingers. They were made before forks, but be careful you don't get any grease on your new clothes." I said: "My God, can't I do anything without something being said about my fine clothes?"

After being through with dinner, all proceeded to the river bank to bid us a final adieu. I lagged back in the rear to get a short interview with the one young lady I was extremely partial to, and we walked slowly side by side, and made the preliminaries for the future which were kept inviolate till the time set for the consummation of that solemn vow which came to pass September 16, 1847. This vow was kept in perfect bliss for fifty-four years. The bell on the boat was ringing and steam up all ready to turn her prow toward the sunny South and to lose sight of the loved ones who were grouped together on the bank of the river to bid us a final adieu. I don't think there was a dry eye in the great throng of friends that came to see us off.

When the boat left her moorings, I made my way to the hurricane roof to take a farewell view of my native heath and place of birth, this being the first and only boat I had ever put my feet on.

Looking back at every familiar object that presented itself then, the group of friends still huddled together with waving handkerchiefs as we were leaving them far in the distance, I could see that loving old mother still weeping and wiping the tears from her eyes. Still I gazed, my heart still growing weaker and heavier, until the boat rounded the point and lost to sight that dear old town, mother and friends still following me with their tear wet eyes. The sad thoughts were more than I could stand. Alas! I broke down and boohooed right out. I thought at one moment I would jump into the river and swim ashore as I was a good swimmer and knew I could make the shore.

Whilst I was soliloquizing what to do I heard footsteps on the roof approaching me from the forward part of the boat. I was weeping, my head drooping, with handkerchief to my eyes, heeding

not those footsteps approaching me. At last there was a gentle hand laid on my shoulder which aroused me from my stupor. I raised my eyes to see the cause. There were two men standing over me. One was an old gentleman and the other a youth some older than myself. The old gentleman was quite old and very large. He still kept his hand on my shoulder. I looked up into his face and saw his sympathetic countenance looking me in the face. I felt some little relief. He accosted me thus: "Son, don't grieve. This is very trying on you, I know from experience, as I myself once had a mother I had to leave as you are doing, but it turned out all right and this will be all right with you in a few days as you are among your friends. Come, don't sit here. Come and go with me." When I had wiped the tears from my eyes I looked up and to my great joy and surprise there stood an old friend, John W. Cannon, with whom I played and slept many nights and of whom I shall speak farther on in my memoirs. The old gentleman that spoke so kindly to me was one of the pilots of the boat, Captain Henry Lee, a fine old Virginia gentleman, badly afflicted with gout and rheumatism, could scarcely walk and very religious. He had an impediment in his speech, lisped somewhat, finely educated, very companionable, and exceedingly interesting in conversation. He invited Cannon and myself into the pilot-house, introduced us to his partner, Capt. Wm. Hale. We sat down and the conversation that greeted my ears considerably relieved my troubled mind for the time being, and was certainly a great relief to me.

We ran only in daylight, as the river was quite low, and besides we had two flatboats in tow, loaded with apples, potatoes and other produce. We got to Yellow Banks, now Owensboro, Ky., just at sundown. There we stayed all night. I had an uncle and aunt living there, quite wealthy. After supper was over on the boat, my uncle, Capt. Wright, and myself went to their residence and there stayed until 12 o'clock. My uncles sat and talked about old times, about the times when they had to walk back from New Orleans to this point, and related the peril and hardships connected thereto. But my aunt and I were talking about me and my mother and my future prospects. The advice given me that night by my good Aunt Peggy Morton never will be erased from my memory. When it was announced we must go to the boat, Aunt Peggy said: "Isaac, could not Betsy have gotten something better suited for Wilson's

suit than this," feeling it at the same time. "This is certainly good stuff but not suitable for the occasion."

Then I thought to myself: D—m these clothes. Won't I never hear the last of them? And when she kissed me goodbye she put into my hands a small bible which I have to this day and prize it very highly. On the flyleaf are these lines: Presented to Wilson Hunt Daniel by his Aunt Margaret Morton. Yellow Banks, Daviess county, Ky., Sept. 8th, 1840.

The boat was very full of passengers and consequently there was no berth for me to sleep on. Having already lost so much sleep in the excitement and trouble of leaving home, I was very drowsy, so Capt. Wright took me over on one of the flatboats which had a small cabin and two bunks, nothing but straw for a bed. This was something I had never been used to at home; all nice clean feather beds to go to there. This I thought was a terrible place to sleep, but after some talk the man on the top shelf as I called them, woke up, and who should it be but John W. Cannon, with whom I had slept many nights. This quieted my nerves and I turned in clothes and all, my fine suit at that, being very tired and had lost so much sleep. Although on a straw shelf, I slept soundly.

At daylight I was woken up by the loud commands of the mate to the deck hands to launch in the planks, and cast off the lines, then the escaping of the boat. I sprang out of my nest of straw and climbed to the top of the flatboat, looked for some place to wash my face and hands. Finally I found a bucket, dipped up some water, washed and took my handkerchief for a towel. Then I sauntered over to the steamboat and there I met my uncle, Capt. Wright. He said: "Sonny, how did you rest last night?" I told him. He said: "Now after breakfast I want you to go into the pilot house and help the old man pull down on the wheel. He is so crippled. He will learn you how to steer the boat." This was a great relief to my mind and was what I most desired. I went to my breakfast and sat next to Capt. Lee, the pilot, who immediately engaged me in conversation and said: "As soon as you are through with breakfast, come up to the pilot house. I will put you to work." This was pleasant news to me, I assure you. I hastened to the pilot house as quick as I could. The old gentleman opened the door and invited me in. We were then approaching French Island Bar, a very shoal and difficult place to get over. The engine was stopped and the yawl sent out with Capt. Hale, the other pilot, to sound the

bar and find the channel and see if there was sufficient water for the boat. He took the sounding stick, the yawl worked all over the bar and finally I saw the oars raised up on end, a signal to us to come ahead. As soon as the boat was in motion Capt. Lee said: "Now, sonny, you go to that side of the wheel and when I tell you to pull or shove, pull as hard as you can and I will tell you when to stop. He tapped the bell for leadsmen to heave the lead, who would sing out to the Captain the depth of the water. Then the Captain would pass the word back to the pilot. The first cast was 8 feet, the next 7 feet, then shoaler and shoaler, till 4½ was called; then she began to rub on the bottom. I was considerably excited. The rolling and cracking of the boat and all shouting: "She is still going! Give it to her! Give it to her," etc., etc. I was standing on the side of the wheel where the speaking trumpet ran to the engineer. The pilot hollowed to me: "Put your mouth to that trumpet and tell him to give it to her as loud as you can." I put my mouth to the trumpet and sang out: "Give it to her." But just as we were about to get to deep water, the flat on the upper side picked up on the upper reef of the bar and all swung around across the channel. So there we were until dinner time and I had become cool. Excitement had subsided. Capt. Lee began to praise my dexterity in handling the wheel and said to the Captain: "I have the best partner I could have possibly gotten and I am going to make a pilot out of him."

The praise and encomiums given me by the old gentleman elevated me considerably and had a soothing effect on my troubled mind, I assure you, as I had begun to feel at home somewhat. After getting off of French Island Bar and while on our way rejoicing, Capt. Lee remarked: "We will soon be to Scuffletown, a worse bar than this, but I think we will get through all right." So as we approached the bar the yawl was gotten in readiness for sounding the channel and we landed on the Kentucky side of the river. The yawl started on her mission. They rowed up and down and across, back and forth for a considerable time. At last the oars went up as a signal to come on. All the time while at the bank and watching the maneuvering of the yawl Capt. Lee was giving me instructions how I must do and to stand by the speaking trumpet, and when he gave me the word, to hollow as loud as I could in the trumpet: "Give it to her." I began to feel quite important. Both leads were started. Shoaler and shoaler the water became, and when nearing the Indiana shore, up she came on a bluff bar with a fearful crash

which made my heart nearly jump into my mouth. It was so sudden. The men sounding had not gone that far and had not sounded the most important places, so there we were till sundown. The bar was so bluff, and we came against it so hard, it caused the boat to take water. It sprang some of the butts and caused her to leak considerable. She was sparred around thus relieving the strain on the hull and the leak soon ceased. We got off of the bar at sundown and dropped down to the little town about a mile, called Sprinklesburg, now called New Burg, Ind. We laid there all night, shoved out from there quite early in the morning and we had a nice run all that day, no casualties, and laid by that night at Cave In Rock, a place of notoriety at that time. It was the rendezvous of highwaymen and river pirates. It was said to be a hiding place for the notorious John A. Murril and his band of cutthroats, and Mike Fink, the river pirate and counterfeiter. I had read in a book the many thrilling adventures of flatboatmen and emigrants crossing there at Ford's Ferry to the Illinois territory; how they were robbed and murdered, stealing horses and cattle, and running to St. Louis; and many hair raising tales which were fresh to my memory. This interested me very much to know I had seen and explored this notorious place. The captain of the boat ordered torches and lanterns lighted, and passengers, crew and all visited the notorious cave, and with the glare of the light it showed up to its dismal and hair-raising perfection. There were many initials of men's name cut in the solid rock inside the cave. An old gentleman who kept a wood yard there was our guide and after entering the cave he narrated many incidents and crimes that were perpetrated there and pointed out a place where there was a heap of ashes where people were burned at the stake. His blood curdling narrative made my young blood run cold in my veins and many of the ladies who accompanied us ran out and could not listen to all the horrors enumerated by our guide. I, boy-like, swallowed it all and when we started for the boat I was afraid to be in the rear of the crowd, and when we got to the boat it was the whole conversation till time to go to bed and when I started for my nest of straw on the flatboat to lie me down, I could imagine many things and really I got very little sleep that night. John Cannon was, I think, more superstitious than I, as he had been raised with his father's niggers and they told so many ghost stories that he believed them. In the night he would nudge and say: "Did you hear that," or "Did you see that," etc., etc. The consequence

was neither got any sleep that night. This visit to the cave was certainly a great sight to me. With other things, all new and strange, it kept my mind perplexed.

The prospect I had in view of becoming a pilot and going clear down to New Orleans and nearly to the sea, all this put on a mere child's mind, is hard to comprehend.

Well, we got out early the next morning. Everything went smoothly till we got to the Three Sister Islands. There the yawl was called in requisition. We sounded there for several hours, but fortunately we found just enough water by rubbing very hard to get through.

We got to Paducah that day and there lay all night. We were afraid to run the Grand Chain that night. Shoved out from there after breakfast. I had the pleasure of seeing the Cumberland and Tennessee rivers, and now I longed to see the big muddy, the great Mississippi, that I had read of so often. We arrived there in the afternoon and landed at what was known at Bird's Point, but now the city of Cairo. There the boat lay by to clean boilers and put new packing in the cylinder. John Cannon, and a man named Bruce, who owned one of the flatboats, and myself, walked down the beach to where the currents of the two rivers commingled, to view the mighty Mississippi river. Then we gazed in wonderment, but very soon our eyes were drawn to something more attractive which caused us to forget the great river. The whole banks or sandbars on either river were a mass of quail or partridges. I have never in my life seen such a grand sight. They had come from the prairies to the river, but unable to fly across either stream there they were by the millions running up and down each river until they had made paths and roads. We killed a great many with sticks and clubs and took them to the boat. We met Dick Bird, the man this point took its name from, and he said we could look for a cold winter, as the quails and prairie chickens were leaving the prairies and trying to get south to escape the cold.

We left Bird's Point the next day on our journey to New Orleans. When we came to where the waters of the two great rivers came in contact, we were surprised at the great contrast, the Ohio as clear as crystal, and the Mississippi as muddy apparently as a hog wallow. This was another great sight to a green boy as I was. Then another great contrast was the banks and long, sweeping bends in the river, the rapid current, the swirls, and monster snags that

invaded the channel and stood the defiance of all comers and goers. This put a shudder over me to remember as long as life exists. I was in the pilot house all this time with that kind old Virginia gentleman, Capt. Henry Lee, one of the pilots, and was all the time explaining to my eager ears all about the river, and instructing me in manipulating the wheel, all instructive and beneficial to me, and I took it as good fatherly advice and I assure you I adhered strictly to all he said and have found all he said was to my advantage through life.

Nothing of great import put in an appearance until we stopped at Randolph. The roof of the boat and flats were covered with cabbage as freight. I was sitting in the pilot house looking at the great bluffs, and into the mouth of Big Hatchee river that comes into the Mississippi at that place. I discovered a large drove of fowls coming down the bluff toward the boat and took them to be turkeys. All at once they soared up into the air and came direct to the boat, covered one flat, and many came on the steamboat, and as soon as they struck the boat they began to devour the cabbage. Those were the first pea-fowls I had ever seen. They were very beautiful, I assure you, and I think they were Dutch birds. The manner in which they pitched into those cabbages is conclusive evidence they were Dutch birds, and I think they are the genuine Dutch mockingbird from the noise they make when disturbed.

We had not met a single steamboat on this trip so far, but immediately after leaving Randolph we saw two boats running a race coming up around Island Thirty-five. One had red chimneys; that was the "Walk-in-the-Water," the other the "Red Rover." They were shoving them to their utmost. The crew was singing, and I thought it the most beautiful sight I had ever seen. The pretty red chimneys took my eye, and I wanted her to beat the other because of her pretty red chimneys.

And there I saw niggers picking cotton, the first I had seen on the trip. We ran on until in the night and landed at the mouth of Wolf river. There were a few houses there but I was not informed if there was a town or not, but he pointed out Wolf river to me.

I was exceedingly attached to the pilot house and Capt. Lee, and stuck close to my post. The old captain took particular pains to explain the river to me and gave me the history of all events that had occurred during his long time and experience on the river. He first began to run the river on barges before there were any steamboats

in existence and told many hardships he encountered on those barges and pointed out places where they had terribly hard work in getting their barge around some points where a heavy current confronted them. He showed me many trees where they made the barge fast to, to rest the crew, with many thrilling adventures and escapes from drowning and many encounters with bears swimming the river. This was all exciting and interesting to my young mind, I assure you. Thus he had learned the river by pulling on a rope and shoving with poles; slow traveling, but this was the only process by which merchants were enabled to get sugar, rice, coffee, molasses, etc., up the river.

On the downward trip the boatmen had plenty fun and a fine time generally. They had plenty of guns on board, killed many bear, deer, turkeys, ducks and geese, lived splendidly, always had a good fiddler on board, danced and played cards as they floated down stream. But when they turned her prow homeward, then the hard work began.

By this time I had become quite expert at manipulating the wheel and could steer right along in good rivers and was married to the profession of a pilot. The old gentleman saw that I was very attentive and much interested and paid strict attention to his narratives. It appeared to be a great pleasure for him to talk to me and I certainly became very much attached to him and I was of great benefit to him in his deplorable and crippled condition, as I was getting so that I did most of the steering.

When we were nearing Island Number Sixty-five he said: "Now we are coming to another rendezvous of river pirates and robbers, Islands Sixty-five and Sixty-six, where many a poor flatboatman has lost his life by those pirates." The pirates would board the flatboats in numbers large enough to overpower the crew, murder all, then run the flatboat on to New Orleans, there dispose of her contents, then come back to their place of hiding. This clan was supposed to be a part of the gang of the notorious John A. Murril, who was a perfect terror in the South for a number of years. Finally this clan was detected accidentally and in the following manner.

There was a trading-boat with a miscellaneous cargo on board stopped at the shore for the night, and as those thieves were always on the alert watching for their prey, they discovered the boats, and after dark stealthily slipped on board pretending to buy something. After a short while others of the gang made their appearance. Soon

there was quite a crowd. They soon began quarreling with the proprietor. A young man from Memphis, who had hired on the boat, saw danger in sight, slipped back to the after-end of the boat and crawled through the window and dropped into the river and hid himself under the rake of the boat. There happened to be a pin in the gunwale of the boat which he grasped with his hand, hidden entirely from view. He there heard the report of guns, the shrieks and groans of his companions, a terrible predicament to be in, but he was afraid to stir from his place of hiding. He watched them loot the boat of her contents, then cut the boat loose, and let her drift on with the current. But they did not forget to cut a hole in her so she would sink to hide their hideous crime. This young man still clung to the pin until he had drifted out of harm's way, then crawled up on the wreck and sat there until the wind blew the wreck to the shore. He jumped to the shore and walked down the river until he espied a steamboat coming up, hailed her and got on for Memphis, his home. Those cutthroats kept wood-yards for boats at several places. This boat that this young man boarded was out of wood when she arrived near where this great murder had just been committed. The captain espied a rick of wood on the bank, and rang the big bell to land. This brought the owner of the wood to get his pay for it and brought others who were lying around in the canebrake. This young man was looking to see if he recognized any of the parties to this great crime. At a glance he saw the very ones that had just, a few hours since, murdered his companions. Some had blood on their clothing. Still he kept mum and never told it until a few miles from Memphis. Then he named it to the captain and told him he saw the same men that did the murder at the wood-yard, and that he had a scheme by which he was going to capture them.

He immediately went to his friends and narrated the circumstances and his plan to catch them. They were to fit up a nice trading boat, make her attractive, fitted for the occasion, put fifty determined men on board, duly armed, ropes, stones of large size to sink their bodies to the bottom of the river, put in a nice saloon in the forward part of the boat, put in a partition so as to hide the men from view. Three men were selected to man the boat. They started on down on their horrible mission and made it convenient to reach the coveted landing at sunset. This was done to a nicety. The boat was landed at the identical place where this murder was

perpetrated but a short time before. The plan was to let all the pirates on board and to wait on them at the bar and keep them engaged in conversation. The men in the rear at a signal were to step out on the bank and walk around to the forward part of the boat and rush in on them, thus taking them by surprise. When the bandits saw their predicament, some drew their bowies to cut their way out, but the guard had them covered with their rifles. They saw no hope whatever, only surrender. They were twenty-eight in number. As soon as all were disarmed, they put handcuffs on them or tied their arms. The ropes for the occasion were brought forward with those heavy stones tied to them. Then the boat was loosened from her moorings and drifted out into deep water. Those poor devils were tied together in pairs. A plank was arranged so one end would project over the water. Then those devils were made to walk the plank into that muddy river in pairs. As soon as they struck the water their heads went down and heels up, thus wiping out of existence at one fell swoop the greatest clan of desperadoes that ever existed in the Mississippi Valley.

Those thrilling, bloodcurdling events, as told by my old friend Lee caused me to forget my troubles about my new suit of fried jeans clothing, for a while at least. He told me other thrilling scenes that had occurred around and near those Islands Sixty-five and Sixty-six which I will not mention in this chapter.

The boat proceeded on down without passing another place of notoriety until we reached Natchez, Miss. Natchez under the Hill was noted for the many dance houses and gambling dens, all under the great bluff and immediately at the steamboat landing. There we landed and left our flatboats and we ourselves remained there a considerable time. The sound of the fiddle and voice of the prompter was all the time to be heard. You could see all kinds of games and chicken fights in the streets, playing "seven-up" on bales of cotton. Money was so plentiful around Natchez, you might pick it up most any moment on the stretes, and murders innumerable. Notwithstanding, it was a great trading-point, and you could see an acre of flatboats lying at the wharf all the time, all selling as fast as the customers could be waited on.

There I saw the first ship. There were eighteen sailing-vessels lying there, some loading cotton, some discharging cargoes of merchandise. Capt. Lee pointed to the sand-bar opposite the city and said that bar was called "bloody bar," it being the place where James

Bowie fought two duels and killed his man each time. Thus the name "bloody bar." Col. James Bowie was the man who invented the famous deadly weapon called "bowie knife" from the inventor's name. He was killed at the battle of the Alamo, Texas, by Mexicans.

After leaving Natchez we began to meet steamboats and tow-boats with ships on their way to Natchez. We ran on down to Ruth's Point, the landing for Red river. After leaving Ruth's we never stopped until we reached Baton Rouge. We went flying after we dropped our two flats. Leaving Baton Rouge early in the morning I was left alone at the wheel and Capt. Lee took a seat in the front of the pilot house to tell how to run. I felt my importance, I assure you. I thought I was a sure enough pilot steering along those beautiful long reaches in the river. When nearing the mouth of Bayou Manchac, Capt. Lee sang out to me: "Do you see that little creek or bayou there," pointing his finger. I said: "Yes, sir." "Well," said he, "that bank or levee was thrown up thar by order of Gen. Jackson to keep the redcoats from getting through at the time of the battle of New Orleans. That was another point of historical fact quite interesting to me indeed, as I had often read about that memorable battle, and this Bayou Manchac brought vividly to my mind all that I had read and heard from old neighbors and relatives who had participated in that battle.

As we proceeded on our downward course, the river became prettier all the time, those beautiful sugar plantations looked like towns to my untutored mind, fine residences, and beautiful spreading live-oak trees, were too grand for me to describe, but I thought to myself: "This certainly is where Adam and Eve were turned loose in the Garden of Eden," and I still am leaning in that direction, for it is certainly the most beautiful part of this country.

When nearing the city Captain Lee said: "See that old deadening of trees away down thar." I said I did. "Well," said he, "right thar is the great city that you have longed to see." As we drew nearer and closer I could see the hulks of vessels all black painted, then I began to see the tall, slender masts, the spreading yardarms, flags of all nations flying. My eyes stared with awe and amazement. It appeared to me that my mind was not right and my vision impaired, still I was thrilled with joy that I could not express. Those great masts of the vessels looked at a great distance very similar to the old deadened beech timbers where I

was raised. But as the boat ran very near the ships it gave me a chance to take a satisfactory view of them. They were moored to the wharf three and four in a tier for a distance of five or six miles. You can imagine what an impression it made upon the mind of a young country boy who had never been outside of maternal surveillance before.

When we landed at the pier at the foot of Custom House Street there were slips in between the piers wide enough to admit two small steamers at the same time. The "Water Witch" had this slip exclusively and we shoved up into it until our stage-plank would reach the sidewalk at the old custom house. The new one is on the same ground now. Those piers extended from the lower part of the city, its entire length, a distance of twelve miles. They were put upon piling driven in the mud and the flooring put on the piling, but now it is all a solid plank wharf the entire length of the city. When the "Water Witch" landed the first time the bank was built out two squares and had fine houses on it.

I give this brief sketch to show what marvelous changes have occurred since my advent as a river pilot on the Mississippi. On the morning after our arrival Captain Lee said: "Let's go to the French Market," which was a few blocks below where we were landed. So we sallied forth and this was the greatest sight to me that I ever witnessed. Tropical fruits galore, all nationalities in the wide world there, the different languages spoken, different dress, all combined, made an impression on my mind never to be forgotten. We visited the fruits and vegetable stands and found everything like summer in Indiana; then the fish and oyster department where we saw crabs, crawfish, shrimps and snails by the cart-load. I thought to myself: The people here must be the filthiest people in God's kingdom. The idea of eating such things was preposterous to my young mind. It really made me sick to think of such things. While we were looking at those nasty things it caused me to forget my fine suit of fried jeans. But two men were standing close to us. One said to the other: "Winter is coming; do you see those snow-birds? Look at that one's feathers," and pointed at my clothes. I thought to myself: My Lord, won't people ever get done talking about my suit?

I was not very favorably impressed with the city, I assure you, and longed to get away from it. We went back to the boat and breakfast was ready. As we sat down to the table, the first thing

that attracted my eyes were crabs and oysters right at my place. It made me so sick, I left the table and ran to the guard and there laughed up all in my stomach. No breakfast that day for me. When the captain came to the boat, I went to him crying and said I wanted to go home as I did not like New Orleans. He laughed at me and said: "It will all be right in a few days; don't get homesick," and after talking to me for a short time, got me a little reconciled.

Just at that moment the agent for the boat came to the captain and told him there was a shipload of Dutch [Germans] lying at quarantine, wanting to go to St. Louis and as they had ship fever on board and would not be allowed to land in the city, he could get a big price to take them, and besides, the Yellow Fever was almost epidemic. Since there was no other boat in port to take them he could get his own price to take them. We will take them, said the captain, if there is any money in it. So the agent started to see what could be done. In a very short time the agent returned and told what contract he had made. The captain said: "I'll take them, and will be ready tomorrow." This was good news to me, you bet.

The vessel was at Slaughter House Point, now called Algiers, opposite the city. We took on some other miscellaneous freight and then went alongside of the vessel to take on our cargo of living humanity. It was a sad sight to behold. Those poor people had been cooped up in that vessel's hold for over ninety days since embarking from the Old Country. The impure air, and rough food, and crowded to suffocation, had caused ship fever and many had succumbed to the inevitable. They were greatly elated when the boat came to their rescue. The boat was clear and airy, ventilation good, and plenty room for exercise. They were like a lot of fowls just out of a coop. They numbered about eight hundred, with those old-fashioned Kiester the Germans used in their native land and other trumpery. It gave the little boat about all she wanted for the long trip. We worked all night, the next day until long in the following night, then went to the city to take on provisions and that was an enormous quantity, I assure you. We got under way before the dawn of day, headed for St. Louis. I was overjoyed and so were those poor Dutch emigrants. We had the same pilot that took us out of the Ohio river. The first day out from the city the emigrants were all quiet, sleeping and resting, but

next day they were overjoyed at the beautiful plantations and their future prospects. They would gather in groups on the guards and sing and play music and all appeared so happy. It was very soothing to my troubled brain to see them so happy. We were fourteen days on the journey, and had thirty-three deaths before reaching our destination.

They were met at the wharf at St. Louis by friends, thus ending our trip.

We remained in St. Louis about three weeks, anxiously awaiting to hear the Yellow Fever situation in New Orleans. The weather here was very cool, but little frost and no rain during our stay. This gave me a fine opportunity to view the surroundings. There was very little city only immediately on the river front. The houses were mostly built with rough stone, quite tall with very narrow streets, sidewalks just wide enough for two persons to walk side by side. The sight was not very inviting, dirty, dingy-looking houses. It appeared to me every store was trading in hides and furs. The Choteaus appeared to be the mainstay of the town. They had a water gristmill near the river. It took its water from a pond called Choteau's Pond. The water ran through a ditch down the steep incline which gave them all the power needed for grinding purposes. It was kept in motion all the time and did a lucrative business. I visited that pond daily and had great sport throwing stones at some water fowls that inhabited it. This great pond I think, as near as I can locate it at this time, was where the Great Southern Hotel now stands, one of the largest hotels in the world, bushes and trees all around it, very few scattering houses to be seen outside from the river bank and beyond the pond. When I look back and reflect, the great opportunities for investments in real estate at that time. I saw plenty lots near the pond with signs up: This lot for sale, 30. At this time it would sell for \$30,000 per foot, but I was too young to think about what the future would bring.

At last news came that there was several white frosts in New Orleans and Yellow Jack was fast disappearing and Red river was rising, to come on. We soon got a load and was on our way southward. We had a nice trip all the way, no casualties whatever. When we arrived at New Orleans we found the city clear of fever and business brisk.

By this time I had become expert at the wheel, could steer anywhere night or day. When we were ready to start for Red river,

pilots were to be hired. The captain of the boat was a practical pilot, and they only hired one pilot, a Mr. Jas. Robinson. I did the steering for the captain who was my uncle. Capt. Lee all the time was advising me to be a pilot and was telling me how I must do and giving me the best fatherly advice and told me to make it an imperative rule when underway to stay up with the other pilot and steer for him and to only sleep four hours in the twenty-four, by so doing I could become a proficient pilot in one season. I took the advice and lived strictly up to it and to my great pleasure and satisfaction he was right. The boat made weekly trips between New Orleans and Natchitoches on Red river. Thus I could see the river twice every week, once up and once down, and only sleeping four hours in the twenty-four, I soon picked up all there was in it and before that season was over I was a full-fledged pilot.

On our first trip down from Red river I was at the wheel, going down that beautiful sugar coast. Mr. Barstow the clerk of the boat came up to the pilot-house and said: "Look out for hails; and every passenger you pick up I will give you fifty cents." You bet I watched the shore closely. There were a great many people travelled in those days and boats were the only mode of travel and this coast is very thickly settled. Hails were very numerous and I never missed a single one. Some landings I would pick up six at a place so you see I was making money very fast. We got in port that night. Mr. Barstow asked at breakfast how many I had picked up. I got my memorandum and it showed thirty-two, so he called me to the office and gave me twenty dollars. It was more than I earned. "Keep that, it is all yours," he said. It was all in half dollars silver. Well, you can't imagine my feelings of joy. I took my money and went to the pilot house and sat down on the floor, counted and recounted several times, then went and put it in my little old hair trunk. That was the most money I had ever had at one time in my life. I felt rich. This mode of taking passengers was kept up all that season and I picked up through that system over two hundred dollars and began to feel quite important. After we had been running about three months the clerk called me to the office and said: "Don't you want some money?" I told him I had all the money given me for picking up passengers. "Yes," he said, "but did you know you are getting fifty dollars a month wages?" This was a stunner. I said, "No, sir." "Well," said he, "I am instructed to pay you that and here is three month's pay." I

said: "What shall I do with all this money?" The clerk says: "You had better send your mother coffee and sugar with part and I will take care of the balance for you." So I went immediately to a grocer and purchased a barrel of sugar and sack of coffee and shipped it that day. I was so proud to think I could assist my mother in such short time after leaving home. Then I gave all I had left to the clerk for safekeeping, which was a considerable pile for a boy to earn in so short a time. Then I wrote her for the first time since leaving home. I gave her a glowing description of my future and told how much money I had laid by and was becoming reconciled and told her I was to be a pilot instead of a clerk. It took a long time to get a letter in those days, sometimes it took a letter ninety days from Troy to New Orleans and the postage was twenty-five cents and not prepaid either. What a change has been made in sixty years, although I have been permitted to witness many similar.

I will give a brief description of the steamer Water Witch. She was a single engine, side wheel boat. The engine was a rotary four feet stroke, twenty inches in diameter, slide valve with three small boilers, single flues, very low between deck, full length cabin open, no state rooms, bunks all curtained, no skylights in the cabin, had a bowsprit same as a sea-going vessel, pilothouse set on the hurricane deck and no glass in it, had canvas curtains to raise or lower as required or suit occasions, the pilot wheel very small and beautifully inlaid with silver and ivory, a twisted linked chain for tiller rope, to guard against fire. This heavy chain made it very hard on the pilot. It took a great deal of power to turn the wheel with the length of chain required for a boat with such small wheel, very little leverage besides. This chain was very annoying to passengers, running through sheaves and a pair of leaders under the cabin floor kept up a continuous squeaking and rattling noise that prevented the guest from sleep, but the law must be enforced regardless of comfort. This chain was so heavy, it was killing to a pilot to handle the wheel. Think of those hundred feet of chain for a man to be compelled to move every minute, day and night, while the boat was running with a small wheel not much larger than a pone of your grandma's bread baked in an old-fashioned skillet, with very little leverage. I to this day feel the effects of handling that wheel, trying to convince people that I was a good pilot, young, vigorous, stout. Many nights I have gone to my bed too much fatigued for

sleep, but too game to complain. Many is the time I have seen my partner so worn out that he was not able to sleep and was not ashamed to say so, being an old man. My ambition made me do really more than was beneficial to my constitution. I was working for a reputation, succeeded, and am proud of my achievements. Well, this steering gearing became the topic of conversation and many ideas were suggested how we could remedy the obstacle. Finally an old sailor came to the rescue and it worked to perfection for a number of years by attaching a manilla rope in such a way as to be detached and attached at will, but the chain must be in its place in port as the informers were plentiful and never forgot to inform on any caught without the tiller chain attached properly. The first night out of port with the new steering tackle will never be forgotten in this life by me, so different, so light, it was play instead of work. We stopped at Twelve Mile Point a few minutes and put on the manilla and detached the chain and proceeded on our way rejoicing and on coming into port again, changed back to first principles, for as soon as we struck port there were those informers run on board to inspect the steering tackle. It was five dollars to the informant and they were always on the alert for the five you bet. The pilot house on the Water Witch was quite small and low, no glass, canvas curtains instead and no stove to keep you warm, consequently the pilot was at the mercy of wind and rain, especially at night when very dark. He must keep the curtains rolled up so as to see his side and after marks to enable him to guide the boat and keep her in her proper course. Consequently he must get the full benefit of the rain and wind. There was no way to evade it; had to stand and take the weather as it came. Many is the time I have gone to my bunk without a dry piece of clothing on my person, turn in without removing anything but shoes, sleep as soundly and comfortably as if in my mother's nice feather beds at home, and strange as it may appear never given a cold or any ill effect whatever from the wet clothing. Whenever I let the curtains down on a dark night it was like a dark cavern and reminded me of an occurrence in my schoolboy days that happened with one of my chums at school who was always drawing pictures on his slate or copy book and had got many a licking for so doing. He accidentally turned his ink-stand over and spilled the contents on his copy book. While he was busy trying to get the ink wiped up the teacher came on his rounds and spied the great spot on the paper. The teacher sang out in a

very harsh manner: Here you are Billy making pictures again. Now that's a beautiful specimen for a picture, isn't it? What are you trying to make? That's a nice looking thing, isn't it? Now explain what kind of a thing that is, at the same time thumping him on the head with his finger. Billy raised up and looked the teacher in the face and said in a slow and frightened tone: "Now, Mr. Byrnes, if you don't whoop me I will tell you what it is:" "Go on, explain, don't be all day about it; hurry up. This is a pretty sight; go on." "Well," says Billy, "this is a picture of a black nigger in a dark cellar looking for a black cat." Teacher, "Where is the nigger and where the cat?" Billy: "They are in there. This is the cellar, pointing to the black spots and they are in there." Teacher: "I can't see anything but that black spot; show them immediately." Billy: "Well, they are in there sure, but it is so dark, you can't see 'em." The teacher smiled and turned and left Billy cleaning up the ink.

So it was with the pilot house on the Water Witch when the curtains were all down on a dark night; you could see the dark spot but could not see the man at the wheel or the wheel. Still like the cellar nigger and cat they were there, but it was too dark to see them.

I merely describe those oldtime steamboats in a brief way so that the readers may see the progress that has been made in the construction of boats in the short space of sixty years. We have at this time boats that can be described as floating palaces with all modern improvements, that vie with the finest hotels in the world for comfort and culinary arrangements. When I go back to my first experiences as a cub in the pilot house and then see and know what has transpired in the last sixty years under my vision in the boating and construction of boats, speed and comfort, it is very hard to conceive or realize what may be done in the next sixty years. It is certainly inconceivable. We only speak at this time of the improvement in boats alone, but just think of the very many other devices of propulsion that have come to the fore in this short space of time. Imagine to yourself the old oscillating engine that was used on the first boat that plied the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. A man who was a citizen of this little town of Troy, Indiana, Robert Fulton, was the man who first conceived the idea of this mode of propulsion and the first to put it in execution. There is not a civilized people on this broad earth today that is not indebted to

this invention of Robert Fulton and should pay tribute to his memory.

Whenever I look back on the rude devices of the first boats constructed under Fulton's personal supervision, the "Beaver" and the "New Orleans"—these were the names of the first boats on the Ohio and Mississippi rivers—it makes me call to memory the first boat in my advent as a steamboat man, the "Water Witch," which was constructed very much like Fulton's first boats. This was in the year 1840. Although she was a palace compared to the "Beaver," when I look back and see the inconveniences and rude construction of those oldtime boats with heavy chains to guide the boat, pilot houses without glass in them and no way of keeping warm, only the feet which we kept incased in buffalo robe overshoes, notwithstanding all those inconveniences, pilots considered them handy and fine, no growling or complaint whatever, only the heavy steering chain which was always a heavy drag and annoyance and caused the pilots to say many cuss-words. This alone convinces me that "ignorance is bliss and it is folly to be wise." At last the captains and pilots got up a memorial or petition to congress to do away with the heavy steering chain and substitute the manilla rope instead. After a long and tedious wrangle and debate our request was granted, but with these restrictions imposed upon us. There must be a pilot wheel placed on the afterpart of the cabin with chain attachments connected to the rudder. In case of fire this wheel could be used should the manilla rope get burned off. This wheel stood out in the open no house to protect it, which made the boat have an ungainly appearance. This mode was kept up for a considerable period until it was definitely found to be of no improvement or use in saving life or property. This fact was soon demonstrated by the first boat that burned with this fireproof attachment. A cotton boat on Yazoo river with a full cargo of cotton caught fire in the engine room while under way. The pilot stood at his post in the pilot house until the tiller rope was burned. He ran back to the life-saving attachment and took hold of the wheel and ran the boat to shore, and just as the boat struck the bank flames broke out all around him and the roof gave way under him, let him fall into the seething flames there to perish. Thus he saved many lives but lost his by his heroic endeavors to save the passengers. This sad occurrence put a damper on all the pilots and they all say: "I am always ready to do my duty, but I am going to look out for myself in case of fire." This

device soon went into disuse soon to be replaced by another, a rawhide rope which worked nicely and smooth, but this had its objections. It would burn, but the greatest trouble with the rawhide was, it was eaten by rats and was continually breaking, thus making it unsafe. Rats would gnaw it in many places which would cause it to break whenever a great strain would be necessary. At last the great obstacle was overcome by the wire rope which is in use at this writing and can never be excelled for ease, comfort and safety and is impervious to fire. When I reflect and bring back to memory the old "Water Witch," her looks, her oddly constructed engines and boilers, her cabin without staterooms, the little dark pilot house and small pilot wheel, I can't see for my life how we got along so nicely with so few casualties. Look at the boats of today. It is almost beyond the conception of man to realize. I don't think there is a man now living who has learned the rivers since my advent on the river, could be induced to tackle a boat so devoid of comfort or convenience as those boats of primitive days. Still we who were boating at that early day thought them fine. No bells to ring for stopping or starting the engines. Instead of bells there were speaking tubes that led from the pilot house to the engine room and the engine was handled by word of mouth. Notwithstanding all those rude inconveniences there were very few serious disasters.

I remained on this boat until the winter of 1842, when she was sold to a party of Mexicans to navigate the Brazos river in Texas. She left New Orleans, proceeded up the Mississippi to the mouth of Red river, thence down Atchafalaya river to Berwicks Bay, thence into Galveston Bay with the intention of following around the coast to the mouth of the Brazos. She had not gotten far out into Galveston Bay when there came a tremendous wind storm, tore her all to pieces and all on board perished and were lost. Not one soul was left to tell the tale. When news came of the terrible calamity I could not restrain the tears. I had become attached to the boat; she was my home for two long years and was the first boat I ever was on. There I learned my profession and I sincerely loved her. She gave me the first dollar I ever had earned. I would be very ungrateful indeed not to shed a silent tear at her demise. Thus ends the Water Witch, may she rest in peace.

Captain Wright then purchased the steamer "Randolph" and put the crew of the "Water Witch" over on her, thus everything

was the same with the exception of the boat which I will try to describe. She was a single engine, sidewheel boat. Her engine was a great improvement on the old oscillating device used on a majority of boats in those days. She was 180 feet long, very narrow hull within, six feet depth of hold, sharp keen model with very heavy shear in the hull, and cabin to correspond. This made her look very saucy indeed, low between decks, no ungainly looking bowsprit to disfigure her appearance, her lines and nosing and circles on the wheel-houses painted a deep green. This contrast made her a beauty. In those days this great shear in hull and cabin made her look very saucy indeed. She had a full length cabin, very heavy crown in the roof, no sky-lights, only two little boxes that resembled a carpenter's tool-chest in size and shape, one of these placed over the ladies' cabin and one over the gentlemen's cabin. There were four rooms in the gentlemen's and six in the ladies' department, with all the balance of the cabins open with curtains to hide the bunks. She was a fast runner and very popular with the traveling community, in fact she was considered the fastest boat then running on the southern rivers. What she lacked in her carrying capacity was made up by her passenger list and for money-making was a success. Talk about hot engineers. She always carried them. Our fuel consisted of dry ash and the richest of pine knots, besides she made steam very plentiful, consequently we were always prepared for a race with any and all boats. This was my delight to get into a race with another boat that claimed to be fast. It was very exciting to passengers and crew. It was my delight to tackle a boat near our speed and the engineers and firemen were in their glory whenever a race was pending. The pilots on each boat used all the strategy in their power to take all legitimate advantage of each other. Many times they would lock each other and run for miles in this position. Passengers would often cross from one boat to the other when in this condition. While locked, engineers on each boat would shut off steam in order to get a good head of steam so that when the boats were disengaged they could put on all the steam and thereby pass their competitor. The engineer would speak through the speaking tube to the pilot and tell him when he had a full head of steam and when he had all he thought the boilers could bear. He then would sing out to the pilot to pull off from the other boat. Then the excitement was intense, even the lady passengers took as much interest as the gentlemen.

All the boats were single engine boats, the escapement loud and shrill. It reminded me of two mad bulls bellowing and pawing up the earth to get at each other when separated by a strong fence. The boats were mad to a dangerous frenzy. They would shake and tremble under you. The steam at every escapement looked a bluish color. I have very often stood by the side of the "Randolph's" boilers when shoving her and imagined I could see them breathe like an old horse with heaves and still I don't believe it was imagination, because the engineers then weighed the steam by the weights attached to the safety valve lever, besides they would hang all the scrap iron they could get to the safety valve lines after all of this was attached thereto, then I have seen the engineer hang his own weight. With this all on the safety valve it would then blow and simmer with this great pressure and weight. No such devices were known then as steam or water gauges.

Whenever I look back to those days of my boyhood and reflect, it appears as a dream. It does not seem possible after looking at boats of today. It looks to me as very reckless and exceedingly dangerous, nevertheless there were very few serious accidents, such as blowing up or explosions. It makes me shudder when I call those times to mind. Think of the great risks we underwent of being blown into eternity at any moment. Thus I contend that "ignorance is bliss and it's folly to be wise" and I think many of my readers will coincide with me on that subject. Steam engineering at that time was in its infancy you may say and a man's pride and reputation and popularity was to be known as a hot and fast engineer. Men with reputation of this kind were sought and always had a position. To be a good mechanic and blacksmith was another great feature in the makeup of a hot engineer. With all those qualifications he was a stunner. I don't think they ever took into consideration the tensile strength of the iron to know the pressure to the square inch or anything of that kind. The only thing was to make the boat go and to avoid breaking the machinery, very little concerned about blowing up and hurling all to Kingdom come. All on board notwithstanding, with red hot steam and illy provised machinery for supplying water for the boilers, I can't see how and why no more serious accidents were averted unless those manufacturers of boiler-iron were more careful and honest than at this writing. The iron in those days was made of pure charcoal iron and all sheets made for boilers were thoroughly and honestly exam-

ined before they were thrown on the market, so there were no flaws in those sheets. Those were days when hot engineers and close fit pilots were sought by all commanders of boats. What I mean by hot engineers is a man who was ready and willing to get all the steam that could be made by the boilers on his boat and get all the speed that was in the boat, and a close pilot would take all advantage of slack water and near cuts to save distance and time. Those were the men sought. A man was known on his merits and that should be the recommend now. There was no such thing as pilot's or engineer's license. In those good steamboat times a man stood upon his merits.

The license system was the death knell to pilots and engineers on the rivers and is an outrage on a free people. I can say without a doubt there are hundreds more licensed men employed as pilots and engineers than there are pilots and engineers in existence. As an old saying and quite true: "Kissing goes by favor," this saying is quite applicable to this damnable licensed system. I know many men who carry licenses to this day to pilot on several different rivers that never have seen some of those rivers included in their license. Thus I say it is an imposition on those who have a reputation and have devoted their whole life to master the profession of pilot or engineer.

Your humble servant was one among the first to get license as a pilot. That cost me one dollar and ten cents. The price gradually increased until we paid ten dollars for the same piece of paper. I can't say what caused this terrible advance in license unless it was the scarcity, like diamonds, the scarcer the higher the price. At one period it was an honor to hold a first-class license as pilot or engineer, but today licenses are sold like eggs, they cost 18 $\frac{3}{4}$ c per dozen, so I have concluded the scarcity of an article governs the price. A license is no proof of merit of the person who holds a license. Look at our school teachers who hold county or State licenses. How many teachers thus endowed with that cherished piece of paper are competent to fill that responsible position as a teacher. When you sift them to the bottom you will find them few and far between and exceedingly scarce. So with nearly all licensed positions, plenty license and little merit and competency with many whose boast and pride is to say: "Oh, I've got my license" and draw them on you and regard them as something phenomenal. Thus I

consider the license system in many instances a fraud and imposition.

Civil service is another innovation on the rights of a free people and should be knocked into smithereens at once. I will not take the time or space to show the iniquity of this damnable civil service law. It is too preposterous to mention.

In speaking of this great sheer in the "Randolph's hull," to show how great it was, a tall man, say six feet, could stand on the fore-castle, in front of her bits and look back in the cabin and see the feet of the lady passengers walking in the ladies' cabin. This will give you an idea how great the sheer was. Nevertheless with this great sheer she was considered a beauty and exceedingly popular with the traveling community and all the crew were very proud of her. The pumps or devices for supplying the boilers with water were attached to the piston, consequently at every revolution of the engine the pump would inject water into the boilers. But at times the engine could not make revolutions enough to supply water sufficient, especially when under a big head of steam, for then there was great danger of explosion. Then the engineer would inform the pilot through the speaking trumpet to land as quickly as possible as water was getting low. Many is the time I have landed for no other purpose than to pump up boilers, thus losing considerable time with great expense. As soon as we got to shore and made fast to a tree, the wheels of the boat were unshipped, or thrown out of gear and the engine started at a rapid rate. The fires cooled down under the boilers. Thus the pumps would begin to throw water into the boilers and in the course of an hour we could start on our way rejoicing. This was a heavy expense, besides loss of time and a great danger of explosions. Then the mode of packing in the cylinders, rope was used entirely and was very hard to keep from wasting steam. I merely call those modes of steam machinery to the reader to show the disadvantages that steamboat men underwent in those days compared with the many inventions in vogue in this the nineteenth century. When I look back and reflect I can scarcely believe that which I have experienced and know to be true. The poorly devised method of supplying the boilers with water when running with a tremendous pressure of steam with no steam gauge and water gauge to indicate water or steam, must depend on the competency and care of the engineer on guard. It makes me shudder when I look back to the primitive days of steamboating.

The many dangers I have been in, we could always feel safe when we knew there was a bountiful supply of water in the boilers. But those pumps were not very reliable at all times, especially when there was a heavy pressure of steam. Still with all those disadvantages there were very few serious disasters.

## Reminiscences of the Civil War: Andersonville

BY DAVID S. WHITENACK, Greenwood, Ind.

On the 28th day of December, 1863, I enlisted in Company F, Fifth Indiana Cavalry, and on the 31st day of December was mustered into the service of the United States at Indianapolis, Ind. This was the day preceding the "Cold New Year" which is so well known by all the older citizens of the State, as it was the coldest day on record for the State; neither has there been another so severe since that date. Some four or five of us from Greenwood, Ind., were caught by the storm in the city and were compelled to walk home. We waited in the station at Indianapolis until ten o'clock at night for a train to take us home. The agent informed us then that no train would go out that night, as all trains were snowbound and the engines frozen up. Some of us had families at home and return we must for fear they would perish with cold before morning. So we started to walk the twelve miles home. I took the lead of the little band, and on we trudged through drifting snow and in the most terrific wind. If the wind had not been against our backs we should have perished. When we reached home the mercury had dropped to 28 degrees below zero. I found on arrival that the fire was almost out and the house very cold. It was not long before I had a roaring fire by which I thawed myself out. I thought it, however, a rough introduction to a soldier's life.

In about one week I was ordered to join my regiment at the front. It was at that time stationed at Knoxville, Tennessee. I was sent by way of Louisville, Nashville, and Chattanooga. When we arrived at the latter place we found that the railroad running to Knoxville had been torn up as far as Louden, Tenn. After remaining at Chattanooga for about one week we were ordered to proceed on foot to Louden about eighty miles. By the time we reached there our rations were all consumed and to make it worse they had nothing for us there but one hardtack each. The next day we were taken by freight train to Knoxville. When we arrived there we found that the regiment had moved to Mt. Sterling, Kentucky.

We were taken across the river south of the city into the woods where we had to remain for two weeks without shelter, and our fare reduced to quarter rations.

When the railway had been put in repair we were started again for our regiment by the way of Louden, Chattanooga, Nashville, Louisville and Winchester, Kentucky. From there we traveled on foot to Mt. Sterling where we found our regiment encamped in the woods where we remained until March, when we were removed to Paris, Kentucky. From there to Nicholasville, then to Camp Nelson where we were equipped with all necessary articles of warfare, including pack mules for our trip over the mountains.

We left Camp Nelson about the first day of May and arrived at Dalton, Georgia, about ten days later. It was here that I first heard the music of a rebel bullet, and it was here where we came up with Sherman's army. On the 15th of May we fought a hard battle at Resaca, Georgia, where we lost a number of men in killed, wounded and missing. Four of our company were made prisoners of war.

From Resaca to Atlanta it was march and fight, march and fight until the enemy were finally driven into Atlanta, where they made a stubborn resistance and were only driven out after a long siege. A few days before reaching Atlanta, Captain Loomis of Company F secured quarters at a farm house for himself and company clerk, in which capacity I had been serving from the time I had joined the regiment. His object was to have me make out his quartermaster and ordinance reports.

We had not been here but a few days until his regimental headquarters were moved about a mile north of where they had been. The colonel notified Captain Loomis of the change, but he disliked very much to give up his comfortable quarters and decided to stay where he was, although there was considerable danger of getting picked up by the enemy's scouts. The second night after the removal of the regiment proved to be a very hot one in more than one respect. Captain Loomis concluded that he would sleep out on the porch. So after taking off his hat, coat and shoes, he lay down with a revolver placed on each side of him. About midnight the dogs about the house set up a terrific barking, which awoke both the captain and myself. Captain Loomis sprang to his feet and saw six or eight soldiers coming toward the house. He ran for his life as he supposed, but only to lose it. They commanded him to halt as he

leaped from the porch, but he gave no heed. On looking out of the window I saw a soldier running after him and then saw a blaze leap from his carbine and again he fired, but by this time the captain had reached the thicket and disappeared. I concluded it was time for me to vacate the house, so leaping out of the window, I found concealment near by. I soon saw the men enter the house and heard them ask the lady of the house who the party was that ran from the porch. They told them it was Captain Loomis of the Fifth Indiana Cavalry. Then I heard one of them say, "My God, boys, I believe that I shot him," After their departure the lady of the house told me they belonged to the Sixth Indiana Cavalry, and that they had come expecting to find her husband there. I proceeded to the woods and hunted for two or three hours for the captain but getting no response returned. The next morning I sent our hostler to headquarters. He soon returned and reported Captain Loomis mortally wounded. He died at three o'clock that afternoon.

On the 22d day of July, General Sherman ordered General Stoneman to make a flank movement on the enemy's right while McCook was to do a similar service on the enemy's left. After Stoneman had selected 5,000 men who had extra good horses, we started on our perilous undertaking. The lot fell to Brother George and myself to accompany this expedition. Our objective points were Macon first and then on to Andersonville. We gained both of these places but the latter in a very different role from what we intended. We reached Macon without any very great difficulties except hard marching both day and night. We accomplished our mission of tearing up the railroads and in burning trains and bridges. Our sport did not last long, for as soon as the enemy could recover from their surprise they rained down upon us grape and canister.

As was frequently the case this fight took place on Sunday, and it is quite a contrast to attending church or Sunday school. Our battle lasted from early in the morning until four in the afternoon, when General Stoneman surrendered four thousand and forty of his command to the rebel general who had fifteen thousand cavalry-men confronting us. The remainder of Stoneman's command had succeeded in escaping through the enemy's lines while we were making the enemy believe we were all engaged in the fight. It was a good thing for those who escaped, but hard for those who were kept back. It was a hard thing to do, reverse our guns and turn

them over to the enemies of the Stars and Stripes. This was only the beginning of our hardships.

The next move was to take from us everything of value and comfort we possessed. After this we were taken on the road to Macon, a distance of four or five miles when we encamped for the night. We had nothing to eat, so the guards were ordered to take two prisoners each to a cornfield where we could secure some corn as an only diet for supper. Quite a number effected their escape while this order was being carried out. One would suddenly make a dash for liberty and the guard could not leave the other prisoner to pursue the fugitive.

The next day we were taken into Macon and put on board a freight train for Andersonville, which is a small town sixty miles southwest of Macon. Here we were taken in charge by the inhuman General Wirtz. After we were taken from the train we were ordered to form in line. We were confronted by a company of rebel soldiers who were commanded to load their guns. In the meantime Wirtz was heaping abuse upon us, and vowing that he would have us shot down as murderers, thieves and robbers. When the company had finished loading their guns, they were ordered to make ready, take aim, but instead of the order to fire, we heard the command "recover arms." I suppose it afforded him a great deal of pleasure in trying to make us believe that we were to be shot down.

After this ordeal we were taken within the gates of Andersonville prison. Oh, how our hearts sank within us! What a sight to behold! Thirty-two thousand prisoners ragged and starved, without shelter and seemingly without hope. The prison consisted of twenty-five acres of ground inclosed by a high wall made of pine logs flattened on two sides and placed in an upright position in a trench three feet deep, forming a wall twelve feet high. Through the prison a sluggish stream wound its way, on either side of which was mirey ground which took up at least four acres of the space within. This necessitated the crowding of over fifteen hundred prisoners to the acre. The first thing to be done was to make a survey of the grounds to find some place where we could lie down and rest our weary limbs. In passing through the prison we saw quite a number gasping for their last breath and others so weak they could not walk without assistance. Starvation was apparent in almost every face. Some were so desperate that it was found absolutely necessary to organize the best men in prison into a body

of police. Soon after this was done six of the most desperate characters were arrested, tried, and condemned to death. Accordingly, a scaffold was erected in the prison and the six criminals were hung. This seemed to put a check to many of the crimes which had been committed. Andrew Kramer, Joseph Harmon, Isaac Vories, brother George and myself formed a mess and agreed to stand by each other until death, if need be. We slept together, ate together, and watched over each other as best we could.

To talk about dying in prison was not tolerated; but the bright side was introduced, and sometimes received with a shake of the head. Two of our mess were paroled while at Andersonville, while Kramer, brother George, and myself remained. About the middle of September, 1864, there came an order to transfer 11,000 of us to Florence, South Carolina. Our hearts were filled with hope by reason of this order, for we well knew that they would not remove us from Andersonville only through fear of Sherman's army. When we got without the gates of the prison it seemed as though we had entered another world, for the atmosphere was so different from that within the stockade. We were taken to trains and loaded into freight cars as long as one of us could be crowded in. Our destination we knew not. We passed through Macon on towards Savannah, Georgia. Some distance out from Macon our train came to a halt. Some one had discovered that the timbers, in a bridge that we were to pass over, had been sawed almost in two by some wretch whose object it was to kill as many prisoners as possible. In loading us my brother and I were separated and put on different trains. This was very discouraging as we needed each other's presence and help. I was taken to Savannah and my brother to Augusta. We remained however, at these places only a short time, and were taken to Charleston, South Carolina. Here we met again by chance, and were taken with a number of others into the jail yard. Here we had an exciting experience with shells fired into the city from forts held by the Union army. We could get but little sleep as the shells would come screaming over our heads and lights somewhere in the city and explode with fearful noise.

We remained in Charleston three or four days and were then taken to Florence, South Carolina, where they were building a stockade very similar to the one at Andersonville. About 11,000 of us were placed in an old field where we were to remain until the stockade was completed. No provision had been made to feed so large a

number and in consequence we were without rations of any kind for three days. My brother and I talked the matter over and I proposed to him that we should make an effort to escape, saying that it could be no worse to be shot than to remain and starve.

He told me he would make an attempt if I would. We told a few of our company what he were going to do when night came on. So when the time arrived they went with us to the north line of the prison where we found to our great satisfaction two guards, who knew not how to walk their beats; instead of one or the other following, they would meet face to face. I told my brother I would go first. So I waited until they turned their beats when I slipped out and made for the tall timber. My brother waited until they came and turned again when he too made his escape.

By previous arrangement we had agreed to imitate the whistle of the bobwhite, in getting together at the edge of the woods. Owing to a great deal of noise in the rebel camp I did not hear his whistle and in a very short time I heard him call, "Oh, Dave!" I gave the whistle, but in a very short time I heard him call "Oh, Dave!" I gave the whistle and we were soon together then into the woods and through a big swamp, when we came to a corn field where we each husked an ear of corn, then seated ourselves upon a big stump and ravenously feasted ourselves. I thought the owner surely must have planted sugar with the corn, so sweet was the taste.

We had determined to travel in a northwest direction and if possible reach Knoxville, Tennessee. The town of Florence lay directly in our chosen line, so it was necessary to make a circuitous route around the town, and in doing so we had to cross the railroad running south to Charleston. This we had to approach very cautiously owing to pickets that were posted in every direction from the prison. This we did by crawling across the track. When we had gotten to the middle of the road we discovered two pickets south of us. We continued to crawl until we arrived at a fence enclosing a woods pasture. We climbed a high fence and then just as we got down we discovered two saddled horses tied to saplings. Our first impulse was to mount, but our second thought forbade it, as we would have been sure of capture if we had taken to the roads. We succeeded in our flank movement, and after a wearisome tramp through the long night, we sought a mound in the middle of a big swamp and lay

down to rest our weary limbs. This was the night of September 19, 1864.

When we awoke in the morning the sun was shining in our faces. We arose and proceeded to eat our breakfast, which consisted of some raw sweet potatoes, that we had appropriated in the night. How our minds wandered back to former days, when we had hot biscuits, butter, meat and coffee. We were becoming very weak from want of proper food, but the hope of reaching the Union lines stimulated us to press onward. The second night came and we started again on our journey of 300 miles. We were guided by the North Star, taking an angle of forty-five degrees to the west. We could not reach the coast, which was much nearer, on account of the immense swamps. Very soon after we started the stars became clouded and it began to rain. With nothing to guide us we tramped on as best we could, feeling our way through the swamps by the aid of sticks. We found it very difficult to proceed on account of cypress roots, which had elbowed themselves up in the swamps. Morning finally came and we again took refuge in another swamp. We tried to sleep, but our minds were so excited by our undertaking and with the thought of reaching home, that we talked more than we slept. More raw potatoes for breakfast; dinner nothing, supper more corn.

We were convinced by the third night that we should have to have something besides raw corn and potatoes to sustain life. We had neither matches nor fire, so we concluded to appeal to the colored people for something to eat. This we had to do with great caution, for fear of being reported, or of being discovered by the whites. This we would do by approaching a cabin, which we had selected as the probable habitation of the colored man, and after listening to the conversation within and satisfying ourselves that they were negroes, we would knock upon the door to attract attention. Imagine their surprise when they discovered that we were Union soldiers. They acted as though they suspected us of being angels; but we were too poor and ragged to pass for them. However, we were the recipients of some corn bread, which I imagined was better than any I had ever eaten.

We again resumed our journey, but we could make but slow progress, and were compelled to wait for the stars to come out; then we would often find ourselves going in the wrong direction. We then determined to take our chances on the highway, for we

reasoned that we were beyond all picket posts and scouting parties. After this we made better progress but were compelled to wait until it was quite dark before a start was made, and always letting towns take care of themselves.

The fourth night we had our first experience with the upland rice. In making the circuit of a town we crossed a field containing rice and came very near losing what little rags we possessed. The blades seemed to be supplied with saw teeth, for they pulled and tore our clothes until we were glad to leave the field. We halted about midnight to take a little needed rest under a friendly tree that stood in a field near the roadside. In a few minutes we were asleep, but soon awoke again and opening our eyes we beheld a man stooping over and looking into our faces. Who are you, he demanded, when he saw that we were awake. We told him that we were "Yanks" when he said that he was glad to hear it, but he was not more so than we to hear him say it; he proved to be a fellow runaway, and after wishing each other good luck he departed.

Friday night, September 23d, gave us more excitement. We were wearily plodding along what had been a road, but had terminated in a narrow path. All of a sudden we came to a house, and before we could retrace our steps we heard the familiar yelp of the blood-hound. We quickened our pace on the back track, with the hounds coming after us; we left the path and turned to the right through the woods. I had gone but a short distance until I fell into what I supposed was a shallow well, but which proved to be a deep ditch. My brother got down into the ditch and by the aid of some friendly roots we succeeded in pulling ourselves out of it on the opposite side. On came the hounds, but when they come to the ditch they seemed to lose their trail and consumed their time in going up and down the ditch, while we made good use of their delay. Our scare being over, we went to a negro's cabin where we obtained something to eat. The old colored woman gave us a case knife, which proved to be of great value; with it we cut us each a stout cane and being thus equipped we resolved that none should make us prisoners again.

More rain had fallen on us that night and we were wet to the skin. We needed a good fire and on consultation we decided to go to a house that stood in an isolated place, and secure something to eat, and to dry our clothes. It was now daylight but we were so chilled and hungry that we became somewhat reckless in our ventures. We approached the house from the rear yard. We had

scarcely cleared the back fence when we were confronted by three hounds that came rushing at us with wide open mouths. Then it was when our canes came into good play. George struck one of them over the head and I another over the back, and sent them howling around the house, while the courage of the third deserted him, so we had a clear field so far as dogs were concerned, but when we looked at the house again we beheld three men standing on the back porch; for an instant all our efforts seemed as naught, but when we heard them scold the dogs and in a friendly tone invite us into the house, our spirits revived.

On entering the house we found a good fire, and were soon enjoying this welcome heat. Something impelled me to survey the room, when I discovered three rifles resting in their dogwood forks. The man of the house noticed that I seemed a little uncomfortable and remarked that we need have no fear of being molested. The two younger men proved to be deserters from the rebel army and were taking refuge in this secluded home. They assured us that they had had enough of the war, although their home was in South Carolina, the hotbed of secession.

After enjoying the fire for an hour and receiving refreshments we departed, thanking them for their kindness. We soon found a swamp and concealed ourselves until night. Saturday night, September 24, found us on the road again. We found a few sour apples that night and had no scruples in appropriating a few of them to our own use. Once in the night we stopped near the roadside to rest while we ate an apple. Very soon we discovered a man standing in the road and looking directly at us. Soon he came forward and demanded to know who we were. On being informed he expressed pleasure. He told us that he and two others had been following us for some time. The other two soon came up, which made a company of five runaways. We were very hungry for some meat and decided to have it if possible. We saw some geese in a barn yard but on approaching them they fled under the barn. On looking around we discovered a calf in a woods pasture, with its mother and some other cattle. We drove all of them as far from the house as possible into a corner of the woodland, where we succeeded in catching the calf. We carried it into a thicket about a quarter of a mile from its capture, where we brought our knife into use again, and soon had the choice quarters ready to carry away with us. We deemed it best to separate; so many of us together

might result in our arrest. I have often wondered how the owner accounted for the absence of his calf. We had the satisfaction of knowing that one South Carolinian, at least, had contributed the price of a calf to the Union cause.

We searched in vain for a swamp, in which to conceal ourselves over Sunday. However, we found a thicket near the road where we could hide ourselves. Late Sunday afternoon we heard the voices of two men near the thicket. My curiosity and the want of bread overcame me, and I determined to crawl to the edge of the thicket and ascertain who they were. I soon arrived where I could both see and hear them. They proved to be two young negroes who were talking of their experiences in courtship. I raised up out of the thicket, and was fearful for a time that their eyes would leave their sockets. We soon allayed their fears and made known our wants. They advised us to retreat into the thicket and remain until night when they would come again and take us to their home.

They came with the darkness and conducted us to an old building where the father of the young men met us. He told us he would take us to the house where he lived as soon as the "chillen" were asleep; saying that the "chillen's" tongues were too long, but when once asleep no danger then of waking up. He sent his son to the house and soon the mother appeared bringing with her some boiled green beans and fat pork. I thought I had never tasted anything so good in all my life, although at home I could not be induced to eat green beans with fat meat. It was not long until the son returned and reported all asleep. We then went to the house where we remained while the dusky mother prepared a lunch for us, that we might have something to eat in the morning. We made slow progress on our journey of three hundred miles, owing to brother George being afflicted with scurvey, contracted in prison and which broke out over his ankles and feet. Again when morning dawned we sought the friendly solitude of the swamp. Nothing disturbed us during the day save an occasional report of a rifle fired by some hunter in quest of squirrels. We kept very still and concealed ourselves as best we could. We were fearful, however, that the hunter's dog would scent us and reveal our hiding place, but the next report of the rifle told us that the hunter was farther away.

Monday night, September 26th. This date is well remembered on account of suddenly coming to a small town hidden by a bend in the road. We left the road and were soon beyond the town and

were congratulating ourselves over the narrow escape when suddenly we came face to face with a man going to the town. He said nothing and of course we remained silent. It was too dark however, for him to recognize us as "Yankee Soldiers."

My brother could travel but a few miles this night, and I was fast losing strength myself, owing to the rations of raw potatoes consumed on our way. About three o'clock that morning we found some fire in a log near the road side. I secured a large coal and putting it between two chips kept it alive until daylight, searching the meanwhile for a potato field, but could find none. At daylight we made a fire but had nothing to cook but three little apples. We felt discouraged and were unable to travel another night without rest.

When night came again we sought the cabin of the colored man. We approached a house supposed to be occupied by a negro family, and listened to their conversation and concluded that they were negroes. We called out the usual "halloo," when to our surprise an old white man came to the door, when upon opening it the light within shone upon us. He quickly recognized us as "Yankees." We told him we wanted something to eat; but he said he was too poor to give us anything, and besides there was nothing cooked, and that they had a very sick child and could do nothing for us. We were about to leave when he let loose a torrent of epithets against the "Yankees." We said nothing in return, not wishing to anger him against us. We had traveled about one-fourth of a mile, when we heard the hoofs of a fast approaching horse behind us. We stepped to one side of the road and watched for the horse and rider to pass. There were so many bushes on the opposite side of the road, making such a dark background that we could not tell whether the rider was white or black. We concluded it was some negro riding fast for the fun of it.

We soon found another house occupied by an old white man and his wife. We told them we wanted to stay with them for several days and recruit ourselves. They readily consented, and the lady of the house proceeded to get us some supper. When it was ready they both went with us to the kitchen, which stood apart from the dwelling, in Southern style. We were seated at the table which stood in one corner of the room, I sitting where I had a good view of the door, which I kept watching on account of the fast ridden horse. Presently when I looked up again I saw a double barrel shot

gun poked into the door, and leveled at our heads, and then came the order "Surrender."

I told the holder of the gun that we had nothing to surrender but our knives and forks and that we had use for them. He told us to finish our suppers and that we might consider ourselves prisoners. It was but a moment or two until about twenty-five men filled the room. They proved to be a company of home-guards, composed of old men, as all the young and middle-aged men were in the army. The captain soon sent them all home but two to act as guards. Supper over, we were taken back to the living room, where the good lady made us a bed on the floor. We could not go to sleep, however, as they kept plying us with questions about the Union army and the people of the North.

One of the guards proved to be good with a violin. He called for a "fiddle" and soon there was some lively music. This brought out the old man of the house who danced to the music. Three tunes were played and the fiddler refused to play any more without a treat. The old man said he had nothing but hard cider which he brought out and filled the glasses. The next thing we heard was, "Here, Yanks, get up and drink with us." We knew that it would not do to refuse so we drank with them, but not to the success of the Confederacy. The cider proved to be good for the scurvey, with which we were afflicted. Every time the fiddler would play three tunes he would call for the cider again, and as often we would be invited to drink with them.

They kept this up until one o'clock, then all retired save the two guards. I awoke about three o'clock and felt very thirsty. I got up and found both guards sound asleep. Here was a chance to escape but I knew that George could not travel far, so there was no use to undertake it. I had to shake the guard, by the door, to get him awake. When out in the yard he begged me not to tell the captain that he was asleep which was wholly unnecessary as I had no thought of doing so. In the morning the captain took us home with him, taking one of the guards, who was a near neighbor to him. We took breakfast with the captain and his family. After breakfast the captain and his guard saddled their horses and we started for Lancaster Courthouse, where we arrived about noon.

We were first taken into the courtyard, and while waiting there we were approached by an elderly man who inquired where we lived. We told him we were from Indiana. He then turned to the

captain and requested him not to move us until he returned. I watched him as he went away until he entered a large mansion about a square distant. Presently he returned with a platter filled with good things to eat. He then informed us that he too was from Indiana, having once lived in Bloomington. We were taken then within the jail. Upon pledging our word to the captain that we would not try to escape we were granted the privilege of the jail yard. The captain informed the citizens of the town that he had two "Yankee" prisoners at the jail and that they would have to feed us. Their curiosity to see the "Yankee" soldier led them to the jail in large numbers. Many of them brought us something to eat. One lady by the name of Mathes gave us a blanket and a small testament, which I have to the present day.

After being kept at the jail for three or four days, the captain returned and told us that he was ordered to take us to Columbia. He also told us that the old man, with the sick child, had ridden in great haste to his house and informed him of our presence in the neighborhood. He said that he was bound to act as the State was under martial law, and that if he had his way he would let us go. We were told that we would have to walk to Rock Hill Station on the Columbia railroad, a distance of forty miles. George told him that he could not stand the walk. The captain promised to do the best he could for us.

So we started, the captain and one guard riding behind us. We had gone about two miles when brother George told the captain he could walk no further. The captain then dismounted and told him to get on his horse. I was waiting for an order to mount the other horse but it did not come. After going a mile or two the captain began to get weary. He then went to a farm house and told the old farmer to hitch to his spring wagon and haul us to the railroad. He demurred, saying he was too busy, grinding cane, to haul "Yankees" to the train. The captain made him do it, however, so we got to ride the remainder of the way. We arrived at Rock Hill about dark and were given a splendid chance to escape if George could have walked. I could have gone but I would not desert a brother after we had passed through so many hardships together. We were put on board the train for Columbia.

When we arrived at Camden a number of ladies came on board with well-filled baskets to feed some recruits on their way to the Rebel army. When one of them noticed that we were Union sol-

diers, she most emphatically declared that no "Yankees" should eat anything in her basket. The captain who sat behind us told her to hand him her basket; she did so when the captain handed it over to us. I think she was the maddest woman I ever saw, but the captain told her to take it easy, as we were under his care and that he would see we had something to eat. We had had nothing since morning and we did not have to be urged to help ourselves. We arrived at Columbia about midnight and were taken to the jail, where there were about thirty other runaways. We found three other soldiers at the door of the jail who had come on the same train that we had. A sergeant was in waiting to take our names and regiments. One of the soldiers was a Frenchman by the name of Devilbit (Devilba). When he gave his name the sergeant told him to spell it; he did so, when the sergeant swore that it spelled "Devil bit."

We were kept in the jail at Columbia about six weeks, where we had but little to eat, yet we had shelter. At the end of this time we were taken back to Florence, the place of our escape. The boys of our company were greatly surprised to see us back, as they had pictured us at home, eating hot biscuits and drinking coffee. We happened to get back just as the rations had been discontinued, to force the prisoners to reveal the place of a tunnel that was being dug under the walls. After three days some one let it be known; just about the time of completion. The pint of raw meal was issued again, but nothing to make up the loss of three days.

Soon after our return to Florence, we learned of the capture of Atlanta. It was the custom of the prison guards to cry the time of day every half hour. One morning one of the guards cried out "*half past eight, and all is well; Atlanta is taken and gone to hell.*" Of course we were greatly rejoiced, but did not dare to express it aloud. The death rate continued to be fearful and our fight with "gray backs" was incessant. Our conversation was about something good to eat and about the prospects of our release.

December came and then January, yet we were held within the stockade; but on the 14th of February we were ordered into line and were marched to the railway station. Our hearts beat with hope, yet we knew not our destination. From Florence we were taken to Wilmington, North Carolina, where we made but a short stop; then to Goldsborough, where we were kept for two or three days. Next move brought us to Raleigh, the capital of the State. We then thought our destination was Salisbury, another dreaded

prison, but instead we were taken to Greensborough, where we remained for three or four days. We were then started North again which revived our hopes. When we arrived at Danville, Virginia, we were again unloaded and camped over night, where a number of the prisoners died, as it was quite cold and we had no shelter to protect us. The next morning found us on our way to Richmond.

We had often heard of "On to Richmond," but we got there first. Some of us were taken to an old tobacco house. I had not been there long, however, until I found it difficult to breathe, on account of smoke from pine fires the prisoners had built on sheets of iron that were found in the building. I had gone to the head of a stairway to get a little fresh air, when soon a rebel officer ascended and demanded "attention." He called for six clerks, and he had them in about six seconds. I being one of the number, we were taken directly to Libby Prison. We were then furnished with blank paroles and were told that the sooner we filled them out the sooner we would get home. You can imagine how we worked; all that day and all night, without anything to eat. When morning came we were marched back to the place we had left. About ten o'clock an officer appeared and commanded us to form in line. Soon we were on our way to a boat in the James river. The boat moved down the river and we felt better for we knew that our lines were only two miles away. Soon I discovered a Union officer coming down the river bank, with a flag of truce, the boat began to "round to" and then joy forever, we were once more with our friends. Many of the men were too weak to climb the high bank; they did not have to wait long, for comrades came running to assist them. Once up the bank the sight of "Old Glory" met our eyes. Then came the shouting and the crying for joy. The whole camp gave us a royal welcome; but what a contrast: we were ragged and dirty and scarcely able to walk, while they were well clothed and full of vigor. They wanted to give us something to eat, but the officer in charge would not allow it; he said there was plenty for us at the boat.

Here we were again given a certain allowance, which was a wise thing to do, for if we had been permitted to eat all we wanted the result would have been fatal. We were soon moving down the river bound for Fortress Monroe. When we arrived there we found the bay so rough that we could proceed no farther. The next day we started out for Annapolis where we arrived about dark. We were then taken to a Sanitary Hospital. Here we had to

throw away all our clothing and undergo a thorough scrubbing to which we did not object. New clothing was given us and we felt like new creatures. The clothing we had thrown away had been worn for fourteen months, and was a mess of rags, dirt, and "gray backs." Then we were escorted to our rooms, where everything seemed to be in perfect order. The beds were so white and clean that it seemed a pity to disturb them. Then the presence of lady nurses to care for us was enough of itself to make a sick man well.

I remained at the hospital for one week and was then ordered to proceed on my way home. The doctor told me that brother George would have to remain. But I was determined to take him home if possible; so when it was near the time for the boat to leave, I bundled him up, in the absence of the doctor and nurse, and with great difficulty got him down to the landing and on the boat without being discovered by the officers at the hospital. The boat proceeded on her trip to Baltimore. Here we took the train for Pittsburgh, where we changed cars for Indianapolis. We arrived at Indianapolis about three p. m. the next day. The trip was a trying one for me, as I had to play the part of nurse all the way, as brother George was too weak even to sit alone. By the help of a kind friend I succeeded in getting him to our father's house, near Greenwood, Indiana. Here I learned that my wife and baby were at Kokomo. It is hardly necessary to state that the next morning found me aboard the train for the Indian city; for I had neither heard from them, nor they from me for more than seven months.

Of all the good things I had to eat there was nothing that tasted so well as pickles unless it was more pickles. I remained at home for thirty days and then had to report at Columbus, Ohio. Here I was informed that I had been exchanged, and would have to report to my regiment, which was then at Pulaski, Tennessee. I arrived at Louisville on the 14th of April, 1865, and it was here that I heard of the assassination of President Lincoln. I arrived at Pulaski April 20, and remained there until June, when the regiment was mustered out, all except those who had come in as recruits, who were transferred to the Sixth Indiana Cavalry. I was appointed first sergeant in Company C and served as such until July 1st when I received a commission as second lieutenant. We had very little to do at this time, as the war was over, and the army of the South had laid down their guns, and had gone again to the civil pursuits of life. I was mustered out at Murfreesboro, Tennessee, September 15, 1865.

## Reminiscences of the Civil War: Andersonville

BY HENRY DEVILLEZ, Leopold, Ind.

I belonged to the Ninety-third Regiment of Indiana Volunteers, Company G. I enlisted the 15th of August, 1862. I served in my regiment until the 10th of June, 1864. I was then captured at Guntown, Mississippi, by General Forrest's Confederate cavalry. From there we were taken to Mobile, Alabama, about three hundred of us. We stayed there in prison about three days. From there we were taken up the Alabama river to Montgomery, Alabama. From Montgomery we were taken by rail to Andersonville.

We arrived at Andersonville about the 18th of June. We were put in the stockade at that place, where we beheld misery on all sides. Sickness and death by hundreds was the program every day. When we got there we thought our fellow prisoners were friends but there were robbers and thieves among them who watched every fresh convoy of prisoners to see what they had worth stealing. However, I was lucky at being robbed by the first soldiers, those who captured me, and was saved going through the ordeal.

I began by hunting for soldiers from Indiana as soon as I got there, which was no easy task, for the prison was so crowded that a man had hardly room to lie down. I found several of the old soldiers who were captured before I was, that were sick and dying.

We began living on one meal a day and that a very poor one. On the Fourth of July we received no rations at all; we were forty-eight hours without eating anything. Being very stout and "hearty" at that time, I began drinking as much water as possible to keep the sides of my stomach from sticking together. No man has more chance to know what hunger is than a prisoner at Andersonville had.

We lived along as best we could until July before anything unusual happened except as before mentioned sickness and death. I have mentioned above about robbers and raiders and will give you two instances of their work. One man who was brought to prison

had a watch in his pocket. The raiders were watching that, and followed him in single file until he got out in the mass of men. The leader said, "I see you have a watch."

"Yes, sir," he replied.

Leader: "Let me see that; I want to see what time it is."

And he took the watch and the man behind him said, "Let me see that," and so it went until the watch was twenty yards from him and he could not find it.

Another instance: One poor prisoner was fortunate enough to have a blanket when he got in prison. The raiders knew it and planned to get it from him. They formed in line just as they had done the man with the watch. The leader took hold of the corner of the blanket and jerked it from the sleeping man. He passed it on to the next man in the rear and so on until it was gone. The victim awoke but the leader knew nothing of the blanket. He said that people were making so much noise that he could not sleep and so by his talk deceived the man so that he did not know where to look for his blanket.

These robberies went on without molestation until the prisoners formed or elected a crew of police or regulators. These regulators were known by the club which each one of them carried. When a man had anything stolen, such as a cup or knife, or probably his day's rations, he complained to one of the regulators. The regulator then arrested the robber and took him before the chief. He was tried and if found guilty was given a number of lashes or gagged for a certain length of time to compensate for his crime. I witnessed the hanging (within the stockade, by prisoners) of six robbers and murderers who had killed and robbed several poor prisoners who, they found, had money in their pockets. The bones and bodies of men were found buried under the places where the robbers had their sleeping quarters.

Inside the stockade there was a line (made by driving stakes down and nailing planks on top of them) known as the "dead line," which was about eighteen feet from the sides of the stockade. No man was allowed to get over this "dead line" or to reach over or under it or get any part of his body beyond it. Now, there was a stream of water on one side just beyond the dead line that could be reached from the inside of the "dead line." But, as I have told the regulations, no man was allowed to reach a drink beyond the line.

I have seen several men killed by the guards for trying to reach the stream over the "dead line." I, myself, narrowly escaped death in that way. I was reaching, for a drink, across the "dead line" and heard somethig "click" above me. Looking up I saw the guard with his gun pointed at me. I immediately jumped back into the crowd and the guard raised his gun. Thus, you see, many of us suffered from thirst, and the water we did get was not fit for a hog to drink.

Thus we lived until Providence came to our relief. Along toward the middle of August, 1864, a spring of good, pure water broke out within the prison. From this time on we did not suffer from bad water or lack of water. There was a constant stream of men going towards the spring. At the spring one of the regulators was stationed to see that each man got his cup filled and passed on out of the way of the others.

Maggots and lice were the torments of the prisoners and I have seen men eaten up by them. If a man was wounded or had a sore of any kind and it was not attended to, the maggots would get into it from the filthy surroundings and kill the victim.

When Sherman captured Atlanta he took many rebel prisoners. The rebels agreed to an exchange of prisoners but Sherman wanted men that had served under him. Well, the officers came to the prisoners and told them they wanted two thousand Sherman prisoners Captain Wirz gave orders that every "flanker" should be shot. My brother and I were "Flankers" that is, not Sherman men, but we got in line and marched out with the other soldiers. We were marched to the railroad not far from the prison, and shipped to Macon, Ga. From there we went to the place of exchange near Atlanta, Ga. We then formed a line and Union men rode along in front of the line and called out names from a list of Sherman's lost men. I was found to be a "Flanker," so was my brother, and nearly half of the remainder of the two thousand. When the rebels saw this the exchange was stopped.

They then shipped us to Macon, Georgia, from Macon to Savannah, from there to Camp Loden or Mallon. From Mallon we were taken to Blackshear, Georgia, from Blackshear to Thomasville, Georgia, from Thomasville, Georgia, we marched across the country to Albany, Georgia, from Albany we were loaded on the train and were taken back to Andersonville.

When we arrived at Andersonville we were counted off in de-

tachments of 270 and each detachment divided into three companies of ninety. I was at the head of ninety and the man at my side James Lang from Ohio said, "Frenchy, it is getting very cold and we will need a fire tonight. You try to get that piece of wood over there," pointing to a small piece of wood.

Captain Wirz was walking down the line with his back turned to me, but he turned in time to see me out of line. He came back to me with a pistol in his hand. He held it close to my head and said, "You G— D— Yankee S— of a B—, if you don't stand still, I'll blow your brains out. I had my dinner and I can stand it, but you didn't have any." These words will ring in my ears to my dying day.

We were rushed into prison again to suffer from cold and hunger the remainder of the winter. Words can not describe the suffering and misery I underwent and saw others undergo that winter. We were kept here until the war was over and then shipped to Jacksonville, Florida, where we were released.

To tell all my experiences in this "Hell upon earth" would require a whole volume, therefore, I have only touched upon prison life and I leave it to the reader to judge whether or not what I have said is enough.

## County Seminaries in Indiana

BY WALTER JACKSON WAKEFIELD, A. B., Superintendent of Schools,  
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This preliminary study was made entirely from the State documents. The writer confined himself to the legal phase of his subject. Not enough material is now available to warrant a study from the social or pedagogical side.—EDITOR.

Congress reserved two entire townships from the public land of Indiana to be used for the support of higher education.<sup>1,2</sup> This gift (according to Donaldson) inaugurated her system of reserving from the public land for educational purposes.<sup>3</sup> Further provision for education was made by reserving a section of land in each township for the township schools. Thus our higher and lower institutions of learning were in a measure provided for, but the system of schools outlined by the framers of our State Constitution contemplated "a general system of education ascending in a regular gradation from township schools to a state university." To meet the need of ascending education they proposed to establish a system of County Seminaries.<sup>4</sup> For the support of such a system they provided that all money paid as an equivalent by persons who had conscientious scruples against going to war, and all fines assessed for the breach of the penal laws of the State should constitute a fund to be applied in the counties where they were assessed, for the support of County Seminaries. This was the only source of revenue that the Seminaries had, excepting donations, until in the forties some of the County Seminaries, by special acts, received all forfeited bonds in the county.<sup>5</sup>

There can be no doubt but this fund was never adequate to the demand made upon it. The framers may have thought that it would be sufficient or they may have contemplated liberal donations,

<sup>1</sup> U. S. Statutes, Ch. 35.

<sup>2</sup> U. S. Statutes, Ch. 57.

<sup>3</sup> Donaldson's Public Domain, 227.

<sup>4</sup> Constitution of 1816, Art. X, Sec. 8.

<sup>5</sup> Tippecanoe County, *Laws of Indiana*, 1847, p. 401; Madison County, *Laws of Indiana*, 1846, p. 85.

which really was what happened. However, the fund never in any county at any time exceeded a few hundred dollars. When we considered that the trustees were authorized by law to erect a building, preparatory to opening school, when the fund amounted to \$400.00, we can form an idea of how small the fund really was and had it not been for liberal donations in almost every case, it is doubtful if ten counties in the State could have opened Seminaries.<sup>6</sup>

It was under this serious handicap of inadequate funds that our County Seminary system, if it can be so dignified, was inaugurated and maintained through its entire existence. The first General Assembly that met after the adoption of the Constitution recognized the Seminary clause of the Constitution, but not until the next General Assembly was there any real provision for the handling of the Seminary fund.<sup>7</sup>

Under this act of 1818, a trustee was to be appointed in each county by the governor and each trustee was to be directly responsible to him. The trustee was required to give a bond of \$2,000.00 with two or more sureties, payable to the governor for the Seminary.<sup>8</sup>

The duties of the trustee were simple enough. He was required to receive all funds due the Seminary for the uses of the Seminary. This duty, simple as it seems, was often a very difficult task. First, the officers in charge of the funds refused to pay over the money on the ground that only fines assessed after the act of 1818 were due the Seminary. Then the officer in charge of the records refused to allow them to be investigated. Such conditions called for further legislation the next year. The legislature declared that all fines assessed since the adoption of the Constitution were due the Seminary fund and any officer failing to pay over such fines to the trustee, within sixty days, would be liable to a penalty of double the amount in question.<sup>9</sup>

The county officers were to keep a separate account of the Seminary funds so they would be easily accessible. This question settled, the trustees found themselves with money in their hands and the question now with them was what to do with it. It is only natural to believe that in this number of trustees there would be all sorts of men. There might be men who would loan the money at

<sup>6</sup> *Laws of Indiana*, 1831, p. 489.

<sup>7</sup> *Laws of Indiana*, 1816, p. 155.

<sup>8</sup> *Laws of Indiana*, 1817-18, p. 355.

<sup>9</sup> *Laws of Indiana*, 1818, p. 369.

a low rate of interest merely to accommodate some one, as it didn't cost the one loaning it anything. Others might be so anxious to make the greatest possible return and thereby have the rate too high. Others might violate their trust and use the money for their own private gain.

The original act made no provision as to what the trustees should do with the money except to receive it for the use of the Seminary. As no county at that time had sufficient capital to begin a Seminary, the money lay idle with six per cent. going out each year to pay the trustee for holding it. The General Assembly of the next year made it the duty of the trustees to loan the money for a year at a time at six per cent.<sup>10</sup>

Originally the trustees were required to submit an annual report to the Speaker of the House. In 1822 this was changed and reports were to be made to the county commissioners who must approve or disapprove, and then forward a copy to the Speaker.<sup>11</sup> This was a step in the shifting of the responsibility from the State to the county authorities.

Almost every General Assembly up to this time had passed some measure for the relief of the situation, but it seems that much had not been accomplished. For, in the session of 1823-4 we find the governor recommending the matter to the earnest consideration of the legislators in these words: "It is hazarding little to say that in many counties the Seminary funds have not the best management," and he urges that some plan be adopted whereby the funds could be more efficiently managed.<sup>12</sup> Heeding this recommendation the General Assembly enacted a rather elaborate law.<sup>13</sup>

This law provided for the election of a board of trustees who were to form a body corporate to manage the affairs of the Seminary. These were to be elected annually, one from each township, and when the members qualified they were to take over the business from the Seminary trustee appointed under the original act, and that office was to be abolished for that county. It was further made the duty of the prosecution to handle all cases for the Seminary and to cause witnesses to come before the court to testify as to the condition of the Seminary fund. The duties of all officers were

securing the funds.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>10</sup> *Laws of Indiana*, 1818-19, p. 67.

<sup>11</sup> *Laws of Indiana*, 1821-22, p. 124.

<sup>12</sup> *House Journal*, 1823-24, p. 146.

<sup>13</sup> *Revised Laws of Indiana*, 1824, p. 116.

clearly enough outlined to allow a fair measure of success, but it seems the officers were not willing to do their duty. Further legislation the next year made clear enough that the act intended that all officers concerned with fines for breach of penal laws were to be held strictly to account, and it was further the duty of the prosecutor to lend the full support of his office to aid the trustee in

The governor approved this bill and it is fair to assume that he considered a board of several members, who would manage the funds, better than a single trustee.

Summing up the general legislation to this point, we have a so-called Enabling Act of 1818, which authorized the governor to set in motion the machinery to take care of the Seminary funds. This was amended in the assemblies of 1819, 1821. Then in 1824 all previous legislation gave way to a general act.

This remained the basis of the organization of the Seminaries, with amendments in 1825 and 1827, until 1831, when another very elaborate general act was adopted. Under this general act of 1824, which extended over a period of years eleven counties incorporated: Two in 1821, two in 1826, four in 1827, one in 1828, two in 1830.

I think the most striking feature of these incorporating acts is their lack of uniformity. Practically every case was an experiment, different schemes being tried in every new school. Some of the differences were only of minor importance, but they have a meaning.

The number of trustees of the Seminaries of this group varies from three to eleven with an average of five and one-half. Union county, the first county to incorporate, adopted the plan of having one man elected from each township and limited the term to one year. Knox county, incorporated the same session, fixed the number of her trustees at eleven, all to be appointed by the county board with no limitation as to term.

The acts concerning Gibson and Orange counties were practically the same. Each was to have five trustees appointed by the court, serving only one year. The act for Orange expressly provided that powers and privileges of that county shall be the same as those for Gibson.

The number of trustees was reduced to three in the next group and the method of selection changed to an election for a definite period. Then in 1828 Switzerland county raised the number of

<sup>24</sup> *Laws of Indiana, 1825, p. 96.*

trustees on the board again to five and in 1830 Jefferson county to nine, Franklin county to eleven, the highest number yet recorded.

In regard to the method of selecting the trustees, the first year we had a county try each; one by election and the other by appointment. Then the next six adopted the plan of appointment, but the last four of this group turned to the method of election.

The rule for filling vacancies was uniformly that of appointment, either by court or board doing county business, except in two cases where they were filled by the remaining trustee. The term of the trustees where limited at all was uniformly short, one year except in one case where it was three years.

This matter of filling vacancies may seem relatively unimportant, but in reality a great many trustees who actually served were selected in this way. There seemed to be quite a reluctance toward serving on these boards. There may have been several causes. First—insignificance of the office. Second—the responsibility of filling an unpopular position without pay, also the attitude toward education in general was not the same as it is now, and hence patriotism could not be appealed to. Often men who were elected would not qualify and vacancies had to be filled by appointment.

In four of the eleven counties the trustees were required to give bond. In three cases the bond was fixed at \$1,000.00, and in the other at the discretion of the court. As to other qualifications the first two required that they be residents and the remaining ones fixed such qualifications as, "free holders of county," "good and lawful men of county," "discreet men," and "qualified electors." Never after 1830 was any such qualifying phrase inserted and only three others required a bond.

The officers of the board were regularly the president, secretary and treasurer, although in two instances at least this was not provided for and any member whom the board should designate at any time should serve. The duties of the president were the same as those of the president of any board. It was his duty to call meetings of the board and preside. All orders on the treasury required his signature as well as the attesting signature of the secretary.

The duties of the secretary was to help record all proceedings of the board in session. Also to make out the regular reports which the boards were required to submit at stated times usually annually.

The treasurer was the only officer required to furnish a bond.

When the amount was fixed by the act it was usually \$1,000, and in three cases the amount was fixed by the court.

The regular thing was to elect members of the board to serve as officers, although Knox county provided that the treasurer should not be a board member, and in Fayette county the oldest trustee under general act was to serve.

The duties of the board under the first acts were very simple, merely to handle the Seminary funds. These boards, after members had qualified and organized, formed a body corporate and politic capable of acting in their corporate capacity in all matters arising out of the Seminary.

In the first few incorporations the duties specified were general and not very extensive. They were: 1. To handle the funds of the Seminary; 2. To make rules and regulations for governing the students 3. To determine the rate of tuition, and a sweeping clause including all additional powers necessary to carry the act into effect.

The collection of the money due the Seminary was the most serious problem which confronted these early trustees. Every county was provided by the constitution with a source of revenue. All fines for the breach of penal laws and money paid to be exempt from militia service went to the fund. It seems that there needed not be any question about what belonged to the Seminary, but in reality it was a serious task to collect it.

There was not any trouble about the money coming from the State, only with the local officials. At first there was no provision as to how the Seminary funds should be kept so the practice was to put it all in the general fund without any attempt to keep any separate account of it. When the trustees went to collect the money as they were authorized to do, there was no record to enable them to know what was due. Then the next thing to do was to have the court records run to find out the amount of fines assessed. This was a task that the average trustee was not competent to perform, hence in 1825 the sheriff was required to account, at end of each term, for all fines assessed during the term. The aid of the prosecutor was also called in. He was required to force officers to account for fines and it was made a penalty for any one to refuse to allow their records to be examined. The prosecutor was authorized to require any person to tell, under oath, anything he might know about the Seminary fund.

It does not seem that this money was appropriated to private

use in every instance, but the officers, like many other people at that time, did not see the use of education and thought that the money could be used to a better advantage some other way.

The funds were never very large and probably the aid of the prosecutor would not have equaled more than the cost of collection. The General Assembly always favored the Seminary, though, and allowed suits concerning it to be brought by the prosecutors, saving the expense to the Seminary. A novel plan was tried in Switzerland county. The board was empowered to summon anyone before it and require them to testify under oath as to the fund, and failure to answer summons was a finable offense.

In the matter of selecting sites for Seminaries, the trustees (or commissioners), were given considerable latitude, usually being directed to keep in mind population, health and donations in making the selection. Sometimes the town where the site was to be was named in the act. The next general act which dealt with the organization and control of the Seminaries was passed in 1831.<sup>15</sup> In all counties not having Seminary boards the county board was to appoint "a proper person" to be trustee of the Seminary fund. He was required to take oath and give bond at double the amount of the money handled. His duties only extended to the funds. He was not authorized to take any steps toward securing a building or opening a Seminary, but he was given strict injunction to collect all moneys due the Seminary from officials and others as soon as due, and have it ready for use. He was not authorized to loan it, but the object was to get enough of it together to justify the construction of a building.

When the fund reached \$400.00 that could be done. Then the voters of the county were to elect a trustee from each commissioner's district who were to constitute a body corporate and politic to take over the affairs of the Seminary. When the qualified board organized it took charge of the records and funds of the Seminary and the old officer or trustee was automatically abolished. These trustees were to give bond at \$1,000.00 and served for three years. They were authorized to erect a building preparatory to opening a school as soon as the fund had reached \$400.00, or more. They were removable for cause by the circuit court. They were not al-

<sup>15</sup> *Revised Laws of Indiana, 1831*, p. 459.

lowed any compensation for their services, but an amendment the next year allowed them three per cent. of the money they handled.

Another amendment in 1832 authorized county boards to appoint trustees in case of failure to elect. Also the same session it was provided that any person who would pay one dollar to the Seminary fund should be exempt from militia service. There were amendments made by almost every General Assembly until the whole system was abolished.

Notwithstanding all the care of legislature the funds continued to be badly managed.<sup>16</sup> In 1834 Governor Noble said: "In some instances they are entirely squandered and lost. It is believed they are more generally paid over to the trustees than formerly, but there seems to be some strange fatality attending them." As a remedy he suggested the "abolishment of the office of trustee in the various counties and put its duties on the county treasurer under the direction of the county board."

He further suggested that in case they did not see fit to abolish the office, they should make it obligatory on the trustee to report annually to the school commissioners and in quoting from the report of the superintendent of public instruction he said that in 1832, just twenty-four counties had reported, and in the next year only twenty-two and in most of these the report was very satisfactory.

This recommendation of the governor shows up with a glaring clearness the lack of organization of the Seminaries. There was no supervision by any competent officer of the various counties or of the State. There was no provision for an uniform course of study and not until 1832, did any of the incorporating acts specify the subjects to be taught.<sup>17</sup>

This lack of organization and supervision was a very serious defect when viewed in the light of our present system, and no doubt it contributed largely to the failure of the whole system. Laboring under this lack of organization and lack of funds the remainder of the Seminaries (18) organized. There were three organized in 1840 under a later act, but there was not sufficient difference to justify a separate treatment.

In this last group the number of trustees was materially increased. The average, not counting four which had one from each

<sup>16</sup> *House Journal*, 1834-5, p. 19.

<sup>17</sup> *Laws of Indiana*, 1832, p. 28; Languages, Sciences, Fine Arts, ornamental branches, Literature and such other as the trustees specify were the subjects provided for.

township, was ten. The smallest number recorded was five in Lawrence county. The three highest were fourteen in Perry, fifteen in Greene and sixteen in Dearborn.

In two counties of this group the term of each trustee was limited to three years and in one to "during good behavior," but in the others there was no limitation. The regular method of selection of trustees was by elections, the only exceptions being in Greene county where all were appointed, and in Marion county where half were selected by the private interests, as they saw fit.

The regular method of filling vacancies was by appointment by the county boards. In Crawford and three other counties vacancies were filled by the remaining trustees.

In this group there were no special qualifications for the trustees as there had been at first and in only three instances were bonds required. The regular procedure was to elect one of the trustees as treasurer, but in four they were not to be members of the board and in Clay county the old trustee was to serve. The bonds ranged from \$1,000 to \$6,000 and in some instances at the discretion of the court and in others at double the funds handled.

There were really two classes of trustees.<sup>18</sup> In every county one was appointed as a custodian of the funds, and his duties were carefully outlined by the bill of 1832.

He was to receive all monies, papers, etc., from his predecessor and was given a special means of collecting them by a motion in equity, whereupon the court would, on investigation, order the amount to be paid. He was instructed to collect all money loaned out, when it came due, and he was held responsible for all money he loaned out.

The other class of trustees was called district trustees. They were to be elected one from each commissioner's district when the funds amounted to \$400.00, and when they were elected they superseded the old trustees. These trustees were required to give a bond of \$1,000 and formed a "body politic and corporate with general powers and liabilities similar to other corporations subject always to peculiar object of its organization and legislation."

This body was invested with the right, title and interest in all money and other property of the Seminary and had authority to appoint its own officers. They had the benefit of the same legal

<sup>18</sup> *Revised Laws of Indiana, 1831*, p. 489.

process for collection that the appointed trustee had, by bill in equity.

Their chief function was to erect a building and get things ready for the special incorporation. They were given specific and detailed instruction as to how to proceed. All building was to be by contract to the lowest bidder.

Careful records were to be kept and reports made to the county board. If the trustees so elected did not see fit to erect a building for the time being they were to loan the money with same liabilities and under same conditions as the appointed trustees whom they superseded. If any trustee was violating his duty it was made the duty of the court to remove him from office.

At any time the county could ask for special act of incorporation and this act specified the number of trustees and their duties. The number named in special acts varied from five to sixteen with an average of ten. Their duties were in a measure similar to those of trustees serving by virtue of the general act, i. e., they handled the funds, kept records, etc., but differently from the former ones, they now had the responsibility of maintaining and controlling the school. They were given general powers to select teachers and to decide who should attend. They were given authority to pass rules and regulations for governing the student body and faculty. They were to manage the course of study except in a few instances where the General Assembly required or rather suggested certain subjects and even then there were to be "such other subjects as the trustees may deem wise." They were subject to no supervising authority, but were free in all their actions except, of course, for the slight limitations of the law.

In general, the bill of 1843, was briefer and more to the point than the previous bill of 1831. The important change was in requiring trustees to make abstracts of accounts and expenditures, number and age of pupils, and expense of instruction, and furnish copies to the county auditor and county superintendent of schools. This was the first step toward supervision and was to be the last for many years since they were all abolished in 1851.

The new constitution provided that all the property of the Seminaries, personal and real, should be sold and the money applied to the common school fund.

The next General Assembly passed an act to carry this into effect. All property was to be appraised and not sold for less than

two-thirds of the appraised value. All sales were on easy terms so as to secure as advantageous disposal as possible.

The later history of some of these buildings would be interesting. Some were taken over and used as schools; some are still standing. One notable example is the Mitchell School in Lawrence county.

At Rome, Indiana, the building used for the Seminary is now used for the high school, though it was not a real Seminary building. The county seat was moved from Rome in 1849, and the courthouse building was used by the Seminary for a short time.

All through their existence the Seminaries came into competition with the private schools. A graph of the two shows that only at one time were there more Seminaries than private schools, and by 1850 there were twice as many private schools. From 1830 the curve of private schools has a uniformly rapid rise while the Seminary curve rises more slowly and after 1843 ceases altogether.

The cause of the greatest success of the private schools is, I think, due to the fact that they had more funds and were more efficiently managed. They were organized with a certain capital stock and the shares were sold. Any one holding shares was entitled to precedence in sending pupils. Often men bought shares as an investment. Therefore the money was at hand, an advantage the Seminaries did not have.

Though the great cause of the failures of the county Seminaries was the lack of funds; however there were other serious defects to the system. The utter lack of supervision, except in one instance where a visiting board with advisory powers certainly contributed to the failure. Probably they were not sufficiently accessible, but in any case the great lack of funds was sufficient cause for failure without discussing other probable contributory causes.

In some instances the Seminaries united with the private schools. Marion county organized, and, realizing that Seminary funds would not be sufficient, by fixing a certain capital stock sold shares giving the private owners equal representation on the board.<sup>19</sup> Kosciusko county turned over her Seminary fund to the Leesburg School Society, but the act was repealed the next year.<sup>20</sup> Laporte county united with the LaPorte University<sup>21</sup> and Cass county with the Eel River Society.<sup>22</sup> In the last two the Seminary was the controlling

<sup>19</sup> *Laws of Indiana*, 1835, p. 93.

<sup>20</sup> *Laws of Indiana*, 1840, p. 1112.

<sup>21</sup> *Laws of Indiana*, 1842, p. 161.

<sup>22</sup> *Laws of Indiana*, 1842, p. 154.

power and power was reserved to buy out the private interest at any time. Brown county united her fund with that of the Nashville common school district.<sup>23</sup> With the exception of Marion county they were all invited in the last decade of their existence, when no new Seminaries were being organized.

After 1840 more attention was paid to the education of the girls. In some of the seminaries provision was made that female departments were to be established as soon as convenient, but only in Monroe county was a female Seminary established.

The private schools were more active. From 1839 to 1851 there were fifteen private schools established for girls. The demand for education of girls showed a further defect of the Seminaries.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>23</sup> *Laws of Indiana*, 1842, p. 150.

<sup>24</sup> The following lists of schools will give some idea of the numbers and locations of the Seminaries. Many of these were also called Academies and Colleges at one time or another in their careers.

#### LIST OF COUNTY SEMINARIES

County	Organized
1. Union-----	February 7, 1825
2. Knox-----	February 12, 1825
3. Gibson-----	January 21, 1826
4. Orange-----	January 26, 1826
5. Harrison-----	January 19, 1827
6. Washington-----	January 24, 1827
7. Clark-----	January 26, 1827
8. Fayette-----	January 27, 1827
9. Switzerland-----	January 19, 1828
10. Jefferson-----	January 11, 1830
11. Franklin-----	January 22, 1830
12. Lawrence-----	January 8, 1831
13. Shelby-----	January 29, 1831
14. Greene-----	January 24, 1832
15. Decatur-----	January 26, 1832
16. Monroe-----	January 29, 1833
17. Posey-----	February 1, 1833
18. Perry-----	January 30, 1834
19. Dearborn-----	January 22, 1835
20. Crawford-----	February 7, 1835
21. Marion-----	February 7, 1835
22. Rush-----	February 1, 1836
23. Parke-----	February 5, 1836
24. Carroll-----	January 27, 1837
25. Clay-----	February 2, 1837
26. Morgan-----	February 7, 1838
27. Bartholomew-----	February 11, 1839
28. Kosciusko-----	February 24, 1840
29. Daviess-----	February 10, 1841
30. Laporte-----	February 9, 1843
31. Brown-----	February 11, 1843
32. Cass-----	February 11, 1843

## FEMALE SCHOOLS OF SEMINARY GRADE

Date	Name	Location
Jan. 31, 1840	Rockville Female Seminary	Rockville
Feb. 24, 1840	Crawfordsville Female Seminary	Crawfordsville
Jan. 23, 1843	Evansville Female Seminary	Evansville
Jan. 15, 1844	St. Mary's Seminary	Indianapolis
Jan. 14, 1846	St. Marys of the Woods	Terre Haute
Jan. 18, 1847	Ft. Wayne Female College	Ft. Wayne
Feb. 12, 1848	Madison Female Society	Madison
Feb. 14, 1848	Laporte Female Seminary	Laporte
Feb. 16, 1848	Princeton Female Academy	Princeton
Jan. 15, 1849	Rushville Female Seminary	Rushville
Jan. 15, 1850	Princeton Female Institute	Princeton
Jan. 17, 1850	Goodwin Female Institute	Lafayette
Feb. 15, 1851	Laporte Female and Male Seminary	Laporte
Feb. 13, 1851	Indiana Female Seminary	Indianapolis

## OTHER SCHOOLS DOING SEMINARY GRADE OF WORK

Dec. 27, 1816	Corydon Seminary	Corydon
Dec. 31, 1818	Hoatford Seminary	Dearborn Co.
Dec. 31, 1818	Princeton Seminary	Princeton
Jan. 11, 1820	Madison Academy	Madison
Jan. 8, 1821	New Albany School	Floyd Co.
Jan. 9, 1823	Aurora Seminary	Aurora
Jan. 13, 1826	Cambridge Academy	Cambridge
Jan. 6, 1829	Hanover Academy	Hanover
Jan. 1, 1829	Rising Sun Seminary	Rising Sun
Jan. 3, 1829	Eugene Academy	Eugene
Jan. 4, 1830	Crawfordsville Seminary	Crawfordsville
Jan. 18, 1830	Greencastle Seminary Society	Greencastle
Jan. 30, 1830	Leavenworth Seminary	Leavenworth
Jan. 29, 1830	Rising Sun Seminary	Rising Sun
Jan. 27, 1832	Danville School Society	Danville
Feb. 2, 1832	Greenwood Education Society	Greenwood
Feb. 2, 1832	Freedonia School Society	Freedonia
Jan. 29, 1830	The Christian College of	New Albany
Feb. 2, 1833	Liberty School Society	Liberty
Feb. 2, 1833	Western Union Seminary	
Jan. 15, 1834	Wabash College (preparatory)	Crawfordsville
Feb. 1, 1834	Indiana Teachers' Seminary	Jefferson Co.
Jan. 30, 1834	Indiana Baptist Education Society	Franklin
Jan. 16, 1830	Carlisle School	Carlisle
Jan. 26, 1835	Richmond Education Society	Richmond
Feb. 6, 1835	Olive Branch Society	Tippecanoe Co.
Jan. 1, 1836	Vincennes Academy	Vincennes
Feb. 8, 1836	West Union Scient. and Agricultural Society	
Jan. 17, 1837	Perrysville College Institution	Perrysville
Feb. 4, 1837	Laurel Academy	
Jan. 30, 1837	St. Joseph Manual Labor College Institute	
Feb. 1, 1838	Greenville Seminary, Floyd Co.	Greenville
Feb. 17, 1838	Laporte University	Laporte
Jan. 22, 1840	New Washington Seminary	New Washington
Feb. 7, 1840	Orleans Institute	Orleans
Feb. 13, 1840	Lagrange Collegiate Institute	
Feb. 22, 1840	Adelphian Literary Society	Rockville
Feb. 24, 1840	Leesburgh School Society	Leesburgh
Jan. 4, 1841	Madison University	Madison

Date	Name of School	Location
Jan. 9, 1841	St. Gabriels College	Vincennes
Jan. 29, 1842	New Albany Theological Seminary	New Albany
Feb. 9, 1843	Tippecanoe Academy	Tippecanoe Co.
Feb. 9, 1843	Spring Creek Academy	Lawrence Co.
Jan. 5, 1844	Notre Dame du Lac	South Bend
Jan. 8, 1845	Lawrenceburgh Seminary	Lawrenceburg
1846	Anderson Collegiate Institute	Anderson
Jan. 26, 1847	Jefferson Industrial Institute	
Jan. 27, 1847	Perrysville Seminary	Perrysville
Jan. 29, 1848	Franklin Institute at	Richmond
Feb. 12, 1848	Madison Female Society	Madison
Jan. 15, 1850	Princeton Female Institute	Princeton
Jan. 19, 1850	Cloverdale Academy	Cloverdale
Jan. 19, 1850	Lagrange Seminary	Lagrange
Feb. 5, 1851	Plainfield Seminary	Plainfield

Concerning many of these schools we have almost no data. It is believed several of them were never organized. Any additional information concerning any one of them will be very acceptable to us in our work of gathering up materials for the history of education in Indiana.

## Judge John M. Johnson: An Appreciation of a Citizen \*

BY MRS. S. S. HARRELL, Brookville, Ind.

There are a number of characters connected with the early history of Brookville that might serve as a foundation for many romances of the White Water Valley. Some of them imbued with a sorrowful and pathetic interest, others of a nature to appeal to the funny and ludicrous side of life. If we had only preserved the fireside tales of our ancestors—tales of travels to, and the making of homes in, this locality, it would indeed read like fiction and nothing but their well-known characters for veracity would make some of them credible.

In the early courts of Franklin county it meant something more than office comfort to be a lawyer—something more than good moral character and a place to sit at east waiting a case. It meant many weary miles of travel through dense forests on foot or horseback to the various seats of justice.

The circuit then extended from Madison to New Castle—the latter then very new indeed. It was on one of these visits to the Northern Court at New Castle that the start was made for this “Appreciation of a Pioneer Citizen.”

While attending this court General James Noble fell in with Chas. A. Test who had but recently left Brookville for a home in Rushville, and James Rariden who had left the same place for Centerville. On their homeward journey through unbroken forests they stopped for the night at the cabin of a hunter from Kentucky by the name of Johnston. It was said this man had been driven out of Kentucky because of his encroachments upon other people's hunting grounds. Be that as it may, in his journey westward he halted on our own Wolf Creek, but found it too thickly settled and moved on after the Twelve Mile Purchase had been made to where we now find him.

\* Read before Brookville Historical Society March 2, 1915.

During the evening these gentlemen became much interested in a flaxen haired youth about 16 years old trying to read, by the fire-light, a borrowed volume of *Goldsmith's Rome*.

This to Gen. Noble's practical eye was a mark of great worth and after some consultation with his friends he resolved to offer this lad a home and opportunity. Always warm hearted and generous he acted at once.

He wished to educate his own sons free from manual labor so he proposed to this boy, John Milton Johnson, to go home with him and go to school, caring for horses, chopping wood, and doing chores in general for his board and keep.

The parents consented and in a very short time had their son fitted out in the best homespun they could afford for his trip to the "town of Great Men"—for Brookville at that time was the emporium of talent and learning for Indiana. Noble was known as a "general" and a "senator" and the boy who could step from the hunter's crude cabin into such a home as this was looked upon as quite a hero.

This lad was later known as Judge John Milton Johnston. He made a very rustic appearance when he first entered the Brookville school and in after years he took great delight in amusing his friends by the recital of incidents connected with that period in his history. His first school was in a private house (now occupied by Mrs. Celia Baker) taught by Isaac John, brother of Robt. John. His next and last teacher was Rev. Augustus Jocelyn. His preparatory education was completed in a little over one year under these teachers—his college education was the school of life under the guidance of his own ambition to become a useful man.

At first there was a disposition on the part of some of the scholars to ridicule—even in that early day—this linsey-woolsey country chap whose bashfulness then was no less against him, than in after years, as his bearing was always that of a modest, dignified gentleman not surpassed by his aristocratic benefactors.

Beneath his wild-wood country garb was a heart full of ambition and an earnest desire to obtain knowledge. The spirit which prompted the boy to gather shellbark in Henry county to make a light that he might read, could not be driven from its purpose by the jeers of a few boys who happened to be better dressed than he. He kept true to his purpose and lived to find himself, in the town of his adoption, far ahead of many of those whose youthful folly

made him the subject of jeers and jests if public confidence and an enviable position are regarded as marks of honor.

The Nobles removed to wider fields of action and usefulness but John Milton Johnston remained in Brookville for many years rearing a family of two sons and two daughters to maturity, proving himself all along the way a practical man of affairs.

After the year's schooling of which we have spoken young Johnston became a student of law in the office of McKinney & Noble and devoted all his time to study when not engaged as an all-round helper in the Noble household.

His life work while in our midst I will sketch as briefly as possible. To me, however, the chief interest has been the fact that in spite of ancestors and servitude, that might be depressing, he arrived, not on a blazed trail leading to a hunter's cabin in the woods, but on the great highway of success and a home in our midst and a citizenship of which any community might well be proud. Dr. Armstrong now occupies the house that was for many years the Johnston home.

In 1826 with some knowledge of the elementary principles of law he began to write in the county clerk's office under the direction of Enoch McCarty, then clerk of the court. This was the beginning of his independent career. His pay supplied his wants while the improved facilities which the office afforded, added constantly to his stock of legal knowledge. He continued with Mr. McCarty to the close of his term, in the end doing most of the duties of the office.

Robert John, brother of his first teacher, became clerk in 1831. This Robert John was the grandfather of one of our hostesses to-night, Mrs. John Bishop.

In 1829 Mr. Johnston had been examined and admitted to the bar by Judge Eggleston. So after remaining with Mr. John until he got the run of the books and papers in the office, he hung out his sign and began the practice of law in earnest, and was the first to fill the new office of probate judge. He at once began to untangle the old system of managing probate business and in a very short time inaugurated and put into operation a way of doing the work which was very satisfactory to the people of Franklin county, and for which they were very grateful.

He remained in the office just long enough to familiarize his friends with his new title of judge, a title which clung to him through life. His successor, Henry Berry, carried on the system

of probate business which he introduced and which for many years was said to have few equals and no superior in the State.

In 1831 he was elected Prosecuting Attorney of the Circuit then including Madison. In this election he received 340 more votes than James Conwell of Laurel and more than double the vote given Sed Noble, the college bred son of his benefactor. That this young man, but a few years removed from the hunter's cabin in the woods of Henry county, with little more than one year's schooling could defeat a Noble with a college education the very best that the period afforded, with the influence of money and parental popularity, is almost beyond belief. Such is the reward of character first. Had young Noble practiced a little of the service that came into the life of this boy who was paying as he went, his life might not have been blighted so early by habits of intemperance.

While yet prosecuting attorney in 1834 Johnston was elected to the State legislature. In 1835 he was re-elected defeating Enoch McCarty, the man who gave him his first remunerative job in the clerk's office. Both men were Whigs at this time. Later in the political upheaval Johnston became a Democrat.

After serving two terms in the legislature—then one year each—he returned to Brookville and resumed the practice of law, remaining out of the office about eight years. In the meantime he was a candidate for clerk against Robert John, who was a candidate for re-election. Mr. John was elected, Mr. Johnston meeting his first and only defeat when asking the votes of the people. Mr. John had made a good clerk and political lines were not yet drawn tightly enough to defeat him. However, at the next election, in 1844, Mr. Johnston was chosen for the office, assuming the duties Feb. 14, 1845, being elected for seven years. In 1851 he was re-elected under the old constitution for the same term. But the new constitution in 1852 reduced the term of office from seven to four years, therefore he lost three years of his second term. In 1855 he was again elected for four years.

He retired from the office Feb. 14, 1860, after fifteen years' service, succeeded by Henry Berry, who had been his successor as probate judge. But one man held the office of clerk of the court longer than Mr. Johnston, Enoch McCarty, who filled the office for seventeen years. Robert John held it fourteen years. In those day men were elected to office more because of personal fitness and

merit. The time was approaching, but had not yet arrived, when a candidate for office must depend wholly upon his party's strength.

When Mr. Johnston retired from the clerk's office after so many years untiring devotion to his work, his faithful services were fully appreciated and his honor and integrity as a citizen and county official proclaimed at the close of the circuit court, Wednesday afternoon, February 22, 1860, at which time Col. John W. Farquhar, George Holland, D. D. Jones, Judge Logan and others eloquently and appropriately set forth his merits, all of which were embodied in a set of resolutions which went upon the court records and also found a place in the public press. He was always referred to as the model clerk.

So much for the character of a man who was a part of Brookville during the best years of his life and also during the most critical periods of the town's history, that of recovering from the shock of the removal of the land office and the immediate pushing on of many of our people into the more level stretches of land north of us as farmers mostly. Those bent upon official life followed the land office.

Early in the sixties Mr. Johnston left Brookville, finally settling in Indianapolis, where he died many years ago.

## A History of Indiana: A Review

Before the appearance of this sumptuous volume\* of four hundred and ninety pages, the author had become favorably known as a careful and patient investigator of Indiana History by his papers published in the Indiana Historical Society publications, one entitled *Internal Improvements in Early Indiana*, the other entitled *State Banking in Early Indiana*. By this more ambitious historical venture he will become more widely and favorably known.

In his *History of Indiana*, Mr. Esarey unfolds a wonderful story of which only a brief outline can be given in this review. The first five chapters are devoted to the period preceding the organization of the Northwest Territory, telling of the early Jesuit Missions, the French Settlements, the English Conquest, Pontiac's War, the capture of Vincennes by General George Rogers Clark, the short period of Virginia rule, and the Indian campaigns during the period of the American Revolution. Chapter VI describes the government of the Northwest Territory; chapters VII and VIII detail the history of the Indiana Territory from 1800 to 1816, including an account of Burr's Conspiracy, the battle of Tippecanoe and frontier life. The remaining chapters from IX to XXI tell the history of the State from 1816 to 1851. Chapter X relates to the State government at Corydon from 1816 to 1825; chapter XI to the economic development from 1825 to 1835; chapter XII to religion and education in early Indiana; chapter XIII to politics from 1825 to 1840; chapter XIV to the removal of the Indians from the State; chapter XV to the public lands in Indiana; chapter XVI to systematic internal improvements; chapter XVII to the Second Bank of Indiana; chapter XVIII to the pioneers and their social life; chapter XIX to the Mexican War; chapter XX to the Constitutional Convention of 1850; chapter XXI to politics from 1821 to 1850. Appended is a bibliography of twelve pages followed by a fair index.

The subject chosen by Mr. Esarey presents an inviting theme for the historian, one full of romantic interest, of thrilling adven-

\**A History of Indiana From its Exploration to 1850*, by Logan Esarey. W. K. Stewart Co., Indianapolis, 1915.

ture, of heroic achievements, of hard struggles with nature and still harder with savage foes, and of marvelous developments.

The period of Indiana history preceding the admission of the State has already been pretty fully covered by noted Indiana historians such as John B. Dillon, Jacob Piatt Dunn, William H. English and William H. Smith. Mr. Dunn's admirable history of this period has long been regarded, and probably will long continue to be regarded, as a standard authority, especially that portion of his volume which treats of the period between 1800 and 1816 and the struggle to prevent the introduction of slavery. But Mr. Esarey has cultivated a field only partially developed by prior historians. In the portion of his volume which tells the story of the State from 1816 to 1851, his care and industry and his merits as an historian are conspicuous. In his preparation of it he has rendered a great service to the State and his work will be highly appreciated by all who are interested in preserving its history.

The early history of Indiana reaches back beyond that of the earliest known Indian tribes which inhabited the region now included in its limits, finally fading away in misty traditions of the Mound Builders, a region governed at different periods by the French, by the English, by Virginia, by the Old Confederation, and by the United States. In very early times the bold La Salle had traversed it, and it had been visited by some of the Jesuit missionaries. A few French traders had penetrated into these wilds and the merry songs of the *coureurs de bois* had been heard on the Wabash and its tributaries, but no white settlements had been established until after the beginning of the eighteenth century.

One of the routes traveled by the French from Canada to New Orleans was from the west end of Lake Erie up the Maumee, then by a short portage to the headwaters of the Wabash, thence by the Wabash, the Ohio and the Mississippi to New Orleans, and along this route forts had been erected, one at Fort Wayne, one at Ouiatenon near Lafayette, and one at Vincennes. Here had been fought many battles between the tribes composing the great Miami Confederacy and their allies with the fierce Iroquois, and here the Miamis had sought refuge from them and from the fiercer Sioux of the northwest. Pontiac had marched his savage warriors through this region and it had often been traversed by the Indians in their warlike expeditions. During this period and prior to the organization of the Indiana Territory had occurred the capture by

General George Rogers Clark, the Hannibal of the West, as he is termed by Mr. Dunn, of Vincennes on which was based the claim, later asserted by the United States and recognized by Great Britain, to the Northwest Territory, a vast area now including the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin.

All this had occurred before Indiana Territory was organized in 1800. From this period the history of Indiana becomes still more fascinating. The area included in what is now the State of Indiana was in the very heart of the old Northwest Territory. In 1800 it was still a vast solitude waiting for the magical touch of civilization to develop its marvelous resources. It was covered with dense forests. In the valleys of White River and the Wabash there was the greatest profusion known on the North American continent of what scientists call high grade trees, oaks, poplars, sycamores, walnuts, elms, maples and other monarchs of the forest, many of gigantic size. The beautiful Ohio washed the territory on the south and its northern extremity touched Lake Michigan; through its limits flowed the Wabash, White River, Tippecanoe, the Mississinewa and other beautiful streams; and in the northern part were many lovely lakes. In the woods deer, turkeys and wild game of all kinds abounded and the streams and lakes were full of fish. There were still left a few buffaloes, remnants of vast herds that in still earlier times were wont to come up from the south and feed on the Kankakee marshes. It was an ideal home for the red men and it has been supposed that more of them congregated in early times, in northern Indiana than in any other part of North America. But the lands were as inviting to the white men as they were to the red men. The soil was of marvelous fertility, and all kinds of fruits and vegetation flourished in it as soon as the ax of the pioneer had let in the sunlight.

To reach this region, far remote from the seats of civilization in the eastern and southern parts of the country, it was necessary to travel by long and dangerous routes, by water and by land, and through unbroken forests infested by savage beasts and savage men. Those who left their old homes to venture into this darkest America did so knowing that they would probably never return, and probably would never again see the homes of their childhood and the faces of their kinsmen left behind. But those who came were men and women of stout hearts. We have often been told of their primitive homes, of their homespun clothing, of their rude sports, of their

quaint speech—a compound of old English, of Yankee dialect, of Southern expression, but the caricatures that have been drawn, especially in works of fiction, give us but an imperfect idea of the people themselves.

Among those who came were men who represented the best stock in America, the old Puritan stock of New England, the Scotch-Irish stock of Pennsylvania and the Carolinas, those of the very best blood of Virginia and Kentucky. Many had fought, or their fathers had fought, under Washington in the War of the Revolution, or under General Anthony Wayne in the Indian wars of the northwest. They were imbued with the spirit of liberty and they had inherited profound respect for the principles of constitutional government, handed down from their English and American ancestors. Nearly all were poor. The necessities of their situation made them dependent on one another and converted every community into a little democracy and made the settlers hospitable. If their log cabins were of the rudest sort the latch-string was always out. They had little education and but few books and what they had were mostly treasured heirlooms brought with them and eagerly read by those who thirsted for learning. There were few schools, but this is not to be wondered at when we remember that the children who went to the few schoolhouses were sometimes obliged to go for miles, crossing swollen streams and traveling through trackless forests, still infested with bears, panthers, wolves and wildcats. There were no colleges nor universities. Indeed the sites of Indiana University and Purdue were long parts of the wilderness, not yet open for settlement by white men, and occupied by the Indians. It need not surprise us when we find in the chapter in Mr. Esarey's volume devoted to Religion and Education only six pages about education. These were enough, however, in which to tell what little there is to be told about education in early Indiana. Nor need we be surprised to find that the word "literature" is not mentioned either in the table of contents or in the index of Mr. Esarey's volume. Men whose energies were of necessity devoted mainly to hewing homes out of the wilderness, to providing shelter and food for their families, and to repelling attacks of wild beasts and treacherous foes, had little time in which to read books and less in which to write them. But the early pioneers persevered. They cleared the forests and drained the swamps and converted them into fruitful fields;

they made roads and bridges; they built towns and started cities and before 1851 they had laid the foundations of a great commonwealth.

Their work was difficult and subject to many setbacks. When the State was organized in 1816 the Indian title had been extinguished in only the southern third of the territory; all the rest was still claimed and occupied by the Indians. In the central third of the State, afterwards known as the New Purchase, the Indian title was not extinguished and the lands were not open for settlement until about the year 1821. It was not until about 1835 that the Indians were removed from the northern third of the State. Until the removal of the Indians the white settlers lived in constant apprehension of their savage neighbors and there were many bloody encounters between them, finally culminating in the battle of Tippecanoe, the last great battle between the white men and the Indians east of the Mississippi.

The State early began the making of internal improvements and in 1836 a gigantic but wild and visionary scheme of such improvements was launched. It soon broke down leaving the State greatly, almost, as it then seemed, hopelessly in debt. Various other States had engaged in similar schemes and of those which did so, many shamefully repudiated their obligations, but it should be recorded to the honor of Indiana that it paid every dollar of its own.

The great financial panic of 1837 was severely felt in Indiana as elsewhere. There was little money; business was paralyzed; everywhere there were visible financial ruin and desolation and everywhere banks suspended payment. Again Indiana preserved its financial honor. Mr. Henry V. Poor, author of *Money and Its Laws*, says of the State Bank of Indiana: "Owing government, as one of the deposit banks, at the time something over \$1,000,000 it promptly paid the amount in coin. During the whole trying period of the suspension, which in the west lasted several years, with a capital of only about \$2,500,000 it usually retained coin reserves equaling \$1,000,000. \* \* \* It was for a long time a bright spot in a vast desert of incompetency and ruin."

Senator Turpie's tribute to the early pioneers of Indiana is as deserved as it is beautiful.

"In that primitive age there was an innate honest simplicity of manners, as of thought and action. Fraud, wrong-doing and injustice were denounced as they are at present; they were also discredited, dishonored, and branded with an ostracism more severe

than that of Athens. Wealth acquired by such means could not evade, and was unable to conceal, the stigma that attached to the hidden things of dishonesty.

"The moral atmosphere of the time was clear and bracing; it repelled specious pretensions, resisted iniquity and steadily rejected the evil which calls itself good. Moreover there never has been a people who wrought into the spirit of their public enactments the virtues of their private character more completely than the early settlers of Indiana. We have grown up in the shadow of their achievements; these need not be forgotten in the splendor of our own."

Mr. Esarey's interesting volume closes with the year 1851. History must have a suitable perspective and perhaps sufficient time has not yet elapsed in which to continue the history of Indiana to a much later date than 1851. Yet wonderful as was the progress of the State from 1816 to 1851, its progress since 1851 has been still more wonderful. Since then have been developed our great railroad system, both steam and interurban, our manufacturing and mining industries, our improvements in agriculture, our large cities, and not only these but we have seen the rapid advance in education and literature, the growth of our magnificent free-school system, of our splendid universities and libraries, in fact our gratifying growth in all the elements that have made Indiana what it is today. One of the most important periods in the history of the State is that between 1860 and the close of the Civil War, during which Oliver P. Morton, the great war Governor, was at the head of the State government, when Indiana proved its loyalty to the Union by sending to the front a larger proportion of her fighting population than was sent by any other State, except one, and when her soldiers were conspicuous in every important battle from Carricks Ford to Five Forks. All this remains to be told by future historians.

In subsequent editions of Mr. Esarey's book some additions should be made to the bibliography, which should include Julian's *Personal Recollections*, Turpie's *Sketches of My Own Times*. Woollen's *Biographical Sketches of Early Indiana*, and perhaps others. Mention should also be made of the English collection, by far the largest and most valuable in the state of unpublished manuscripts. To the gathering of this collection the late William H. English, long the honored President of the Indiana Historical Society, devoted almost his entire time during the last ten years of his

life, traveling extensively over the country and collecting at great expense photographic views of places and men, old records, documents, letters, and materials of all kinds illustrating the history of Indiana. Part of this material was used in the preparation of the *Conquest of the Northwest* but a large portion still remains unpublished which should at some time and in some way be made available for preserving the history of the State.

In his preface, Mr. Esarey recounts some of the difficulties under which historians have labored in writing a history of Indiana. Prominent among these difficulties has been the apparent inexcusable apathy of the people of the State and of the State Legislatures. Until recently little aid has been furnished the historian by the State of Indiana. The manuscript of the *Executive Journal of Indiana Territory* lay for nearly one hundred years securely locked up in a glass case in the office of the Secretary of State and was finally printed by the Indiana Historical Society. There was not even a catalogue of the official publications of Indiana Territory and of the State until one was published by the same society. Not a cent was appropriated for the support of the society until recent years. Since then only a scanty allowance of \$300.00 per year has been made for the publication by the society of historical documents. This is a humiliating confession, considering the liberal appropriations made by other States to preserve their history, Massachusetts, for example, has at State expense, printed all its old colonial records and laws, its Revolutionary rolls, its vital statistics and everything of value illustrating its history. Even poor little New Hampshire with scarcely enough soil on its granite rocks to make a respectable ant-hill, but which, if it does not produce great crops, produces great men, has printed not only its old colonial, but its old town records. Even the newer Western States like Kansas, Minnesota, Colorado, Nebraska and Montana make large annual appropriations for the preservation of their history.

There are signs of a revival of interest in the study of Indiana history. In this the Indiana Historical Society, the Indiana University, the Indiana Magazine of History and the teachers of Indiana have all aided and the Indiana Legislature at its last session made a generous appropriation of \$5,000. To this good work Mr. Esarey's volume will prove to be a timely and valuable contribution. Surely the history of Indiana is worth preserving. D. W. H.

## Minor Notices

### UNION BANNER HUNT

The death of Mr. Hunt occurred May 3, at his home, 2138 North New Jersey street, Indianapolis. He was 51 years old. Before coming to Indianapolis as a State officer his home was in Winchester. Mr. Hunt first became known over the State as a leader of the Knights of Pythias order. In 1898 he was nominated and elected Secretary of State. After filling this office two terms he became private secretary to Governor Hanly. When the Indiana Railroad Commission was created the Governor made Mr. Hunt chairman. He was a genial politician, a fair speaker. Though of no more than ordinary ability, he conducted his administrations successfully.

### ADOLPH H. SCHELLSCHMIDT

In the death of Mr. Schellschmidt, May 3, Indianapolis lost one of its greatest musicians. He was born in Prussia in 1830. He came to America in 1854. In 1858 he helped organize the City Band and a short time later the Maennerchor. He devoted his long life to music teaching. His specialty was orchestral music. He was a leading member of the Atheneum Orchestra, the Metropolitan Orchestra, the Philharmonic Society. He was a leader and promoter of all musical enterprises.

### SAMUEL ROSS LYONS

Reverend S. R. Lyons died at the Long Hospital, Indianapolis, May 3. He was a veteran of the Civil War, pastor of the Reid Memorial United Presbyterian Church of Richmond, trustee of Indiana University, and a member of the board of managers of the Xenia Seminary, of which he was a graduate.

### JOHN WALLACE

Perhaps some reader of this MAGAZINE can furnish the information asked for in the following letter:

Dear Sir—My great grandfather, John Wallace, who came from Scotland to West Virginia, Greenbriar County, somewhere along in the sixth or

seventh decade of the seventeenth century, from there to this vicinity in 1779, and from here to Morgan or Putnam County, Indiana, about the year 1835 and I presume died there about 1836 or 1837, and if I mistake not, is buried in the cemetery at Stilesville, or more probably in a neglected and disused burying place on the old Elijah Wallace place (his sons) about two miles west of Stilesville. He served in the Ninth Virginia Regiment Revolutionary War for a period of more than two years. This last fact, is of course, a matter of interest to the people of Indiana as it testifies that the remains of some men at least, of that remarkable army find repose within her ample area.

J. K. P. WALLACE,  
Clinton, Tenn.

#### GENERAL GEORGE G. WAGNER

The following letter from Professor Gist has been received. If some one can supply the information requested he would do a great favor to Professor Gist and at the same time assist to clear up a disputed point in our State history:

I am writing you at a venture because I think you may be able to give me some information on an historical matter in which I am deeply interested. If I am not mistaken, General George G. Wagner entered the service in the Civil War as colonel of the Fifteenth Indiana or some other regiment of that state. Later he commanded in the Fourth Corps the old division that had been commanded by General Sheridan at Missionary Ridge. In the battle of Franklin on November 30th, 1864, his division was left in a very dangerous place and he was so severely criticised that he left the service. My regiment, the 26th Ohio, was in that division, and I feel that I know as much about the situation as any one. I have read most of what has been written about the battle, and the controversies that have arisen concerning the battle. I am morally certain that General Wagner was not so much to blame as three other generals higher up in command, who did not assume the responsibility that they should have assumed.

About twenty years after the battle, General Cox wrote a so-called history, in which he puts all the blame on General Wagner. General Cox belonged to a different corps, but for the time Wagner had been directed to report to him. He said that General Wagner's men retreated from the front to the river, and were no longer in the fight. This is a direct contradiction of the brigade commanders and the regimental commanders of that division, which lost more than all the rest of the army. I felt that an injustice had been done to Wagner and his brave men. I at once took the matter up with General Cox and stated the facts as I knew them to be.

What I would like for you to let me know, is whether any of the loyal sons of Indiana ever came to the defense of Wagner. If so, has any paper on the subject ever been prepared from your society? I know that some

of the friends of Wagner came to his rescue in brief newspaper items. If your society has ever had such a paper prepared, will you let me know how I may have a chance to read it? Can you inform me whether any of Wagner's family are living? Can you put me in touch with the Loyal Legion of Indiana?

I have written not a little in newspapers, touching Wagner and his command, but have never prepared a formal paper in defense of Wagner. I was at the recent re-union at Franklin on the fiftieth anniversary of the battle and I found that there was still a tendency to deny justice to the brave old commander. I am tempted to prepare such a paper if I can secure all the data that I need.

Hoping that I am not making an unreasonable request of you, and that you can give me some help in establishing the real facts for the future historian, I remain,

Yours very truly,

W. W. GIST,

*Professor of English in Iowa State Teacher's College, Cedar Falls, Iowa.*

#### THE LINCOLN WAY

The last Indiana General Assembly took up the work begun by the legislatures of Kentucky and Illinois of locating and at least marking the route by which the Lincoln family moved on its way from the log cabin home at Hodgenville, Ky., across southern Indiana to Springfield, Ill. In general, the way in Indiana lies from Troy in Perry county to Lincoln City in Spencer; from there by a route to be ascertained to the crossing of the Wabash, perhaps at Vincennes.

The Indiana statute provided for a commission of two to be appointed by the governor. Governor S. M. Ralston, in pursuance of the act, appointed Jesse W. Weik, of Greencastle, a well-known Lincoln enthusiast, and Joseph M. Cravens, of Madison, on the commission. The selection is excellent and should give universal satisfaction. The commissioners serve without pay.

The question of the way will not be easily settled. The Lincolns were not remarkable at the time of their migration and at the time attracted no more attention than any one of a thousand other pioneer families moving west at the same time. Likewise there was no direct way or road from Gentryville or the Lincoln home in Spencer county to the crossing of the Wabash that was followed perforce by the movers of the day. Few persons who have not had experience sifting traditions will realize the extent or difficulty involved in weighing the immense mass of traditions, or hearsay evidence, that have gathered around the Lincoln history. It is to be hoped the com-

missioners will gather up the traditions and preserve them, so that the evidence on which their final decision rests will be available to the public.

#### THE COUNTY SEAT OF MADISON COUNTY.

A letter from John L. Forkner, of Anderson, calls attention to what is probably an error in the March, 1914, number of the MAGAZINE. On page 24 it is stated that Bedford was designated in the statute as the county seat. There is no question about the reading of the statute of January 4, 1827. It is found in *Laws of Indiana*, 1826-7, p. 65, and reads as follows:

*Be it enacted, etc.,* That it shall be lawful for Ansel Richmond, recorder of Madison county, and clerk of the circuit court of the same, to hold his offices and keep his books and papers belonging to said offices, at the house of Nathaniel Richmond in said county, except in times of holding courts, until the lots shall be sold in the town of Bedford the seat of justice for said county."

#### NAMING THE CITY OF LAFAYETTE

The following item is furnished by Alva O. Reser, of Lafayette:

William Digby laid out the plat of the city of Lafayette on May 25, 1825. At the time Digby platted the town site which he named Lafayette, General Marie Jean Paul Roch Yves Gilbert Motier De Lafayette, who aided the colonists in their war for independence was visiting the United States. General Lafayette was then 68 years old. He visited St. Louis on April 29, 1825, with his son, George Washington Lafayette; Louisville, May 9, 1825; Cincinnati, May 19, and 20, 1825; and on May 25, 1825, the day the site of Lafayette was platted by Mr. Digby, General Lafayette was at Uniontown, Pa. It was because of this fact and the interest of the country in General Lafayette at that time, that induced William Digby to name his town site Lafayette.

#### THE TEN O'CLOCK LINE

The following letter calls attention to an error in an article recently published in the MAGAZINE:

Sir—I see in THE INDIANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY a map of the "New Purchase" in Indiana, the western boundary of which is called the "Eleven O'clock Line."

I was well acquainted with one of the men, a Mr. James Gregory, that helped run the line and he said it was called the "Ten O'clock Line." It was run in 1816 and terminated at White river about two and one-half

miles west of Seymour, Ind. Its starting point was at the mouth of Big Raccoon creek where it empties into the Wabash and runs in a southeast course to its termination. At ten o'clock a shadow would indicate the course the compass would pass. This was to show the Indians that the surveyor was not cheating them.

In Monroe county not far from where Gosport is now located there was trouble between the Indians and surveyors, the Indians contending that the surveyors were cheating them by changing the compass.

This map shows the end of the line to be about three miles from the river when it ought to be at the river. Gregory left the surveying party, went to Vallonia, then to Salem, the main parties going to Madison on the Ohio river. This old man in after (years) joined the Mormons and was with them at Nauvoo, Ill., and continued with them until Salt Lake was reached, after which he came back to Indiana and died in Vallonia in 1868.

The Indian Boundary Line that runs through Jackson county begins at a point on White river where the range line No. 3 crosses the river, so I have been informed since I was a small boy by my grandfather, Abraham Miller, who was one of the first settlers of Vallonia in 1810.

Respectfully,  
FRED MILLER,  
Seymour, Ind.

#### AN ERROR

In the next to the last sentence in the article in the March number written by Professor Lynch on the "Flow of Colonists to and from Indiana," an error was made in copying the manuscript. The sentence should read:

"Up to the taking of the census of 1860, Ohio had sent the largest number of immigrants into Kansas of any state in the Union, the number being 11,617; Missouri was second with 11,356; Indiana was third with 9,945; Illinois was fourth with 9,367."

## Reviews and Notes

*America in Ferment.* By PAUL LELAND HAWORTH, Ph. D. Published by the Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis, Indiana, 1915. 477 pp.

The above-named volume is one of a series entitled Problems of the Nations, of which Dr. Haworth is general editor and the Bobbs-Merrill Co. the publishers. As indicated by the title of his book Dr. Haworth correctly assumes that the nation is not at ease. During the period roughly marked by the years 1896-1910 the nation was largely satisfied with itself. The general tone of our newspapers and magazines was pride in the achievements and success of our political and business institutions. Beginning with the "Muckrakers" in the newspapers, extending through a long series of magazine articles and culminating in a flood of books during the last five years, the people have veered around in their attitude to a position of searching criticism.

All our officers, our offices, our institutions, our business organization and practices from the President down to the corner grocery have been before this inquisition in which most of the inquisitors have been self-appointed reporters, magazine writers and authors. These investigations have disclosed certain assumed weaknesses in the political and economic situation. Dr. Haworth has summed up the findings of this long investigation together with the various methods of improvement most in favor. The author has made careful preparation for his work and speaks with confidence. Conservation, Immigration, Race, Industrial Justice, Labor, Trusts, Plutocracy, Standard of Living, Woman Suffrage, Defection, Political Ideals, Socialism are the important problems discussed.

The author is frankly a believer in progress. Like his fellow authors, Croley, Weyl, Van Hise, Wilson, Roosevelt, and Ely, he has a vision of a greater future for this country than the mere production of wealth. "Ideals and ambitions are the soul of a nation; without them it is a body supine, a thing inert." In the chapter headed "The Blood of the Nation" the author makes out a strong case for limiting immigration. The argument is so convinc-

ing that one wonders why our Presidents oppose restriction so strenuously. The author plainly states his opinion (p. 108), "One result of the Protective Tariff has been that instead of goods being manufactured abroad and sent hither in the natural course of trade, cheap foreign labor has been imported and the goods have been produced on our own shores." In the chapter on Our Changing Institutions the author pleads for a wider democracy, a larger use of the national power, a greater freedom from judicial tyranny, and a better method of selecting officers.

On the whole one feels after reading the volume that he has had a fair review of the case of the people vs. the government. The weak points of both sides are indicated and the strong points emphasized. The author makes many bold and some startling statements which many readers will take issue with. But in no case can one accuse the writer of hedging. Whether or not they agree in all particulars all good citizens will join with the author in his general optimism, and hope with him that a better public opinion, a stronger government, a higher life, and loftier ideals will result from the present travail.

L. E.

*History of the Democratic Party Organization in the Northwest.*

By HOMER J. WEBSTER, Ph.D., Department of History,  
University of Pittsburgh. Published by the Author, Pitts-  
burgh, January, 1915. pp. 120.

Doctor Webster is not a newcomer in this field. His history of the administration of Governor W. H. Harrison was published some years ago by the Indiana Historical Society. The present volume is entitled a *History of the Democratic Party Organization in the Northwest*. Dr. Webster has devoted his attention almost entirely to the development of the political party machinery of the Democrats. The study is based almost entirely on newspaper sources. The party organization, as Dr. Webster has found, dates from the winter of 1823-4. The Ohio State convention met at Columbus July 14, 1824, and nominated Jackson electors. A State committee as well as county and township committees were appointed. Ohio thus preceded Indiana two months in holding a State convention. The Indiana State convention met at Salem September 16, though in many counties conventions had been held as early as January. Taking the State as a whole, it seems Indiana had a better and wider organization than Ohio. Cincinnati was perhaps the center

of the Jackson organization for the whole Northwest. Dr. Webster has carried his investigations down to the memorable campaign of 1840, when the Jackson machine was overthrown throughout the Northwest. It is an exceedingly valuable study in a practically new field. The book appears as a "separate" from the current number of the *Ohio Archæological and Historical Quarterly* for April.

*History of Education in Iowa.* By CLARENCE ROY AURNER, Ph.D., Published by the State Historical Society of Iowa, at Iowa City, 1914. Two vols., pp. xiv+436, and ix+469.

The society has planned a History of Education in Iowa in six volumes. The first two, dealing with primary education, have been published. The first volume is devoted to the schools proper, the second volume to accessory organizations, such as teachers' institutes, State associations, school boards, school journals and all the other agencies of the profession. The first volume is divided into five parts, (1) A historical introduction; (2) The public school funds; (3) School districts; (4) Teachers in public schools; and (5) Text-books in the schools. The experience of Iowa seems to be similar to that of the other States of the Northwest. The early district and subscription schools had very little encouragement from the State and consequently very little in the way of regularity or organization. The first school law was passed by the territorial legislature in 1838. It provided for an army of school officers, such as a Territorial School Commission, county school boards, trustees, clerks, treasurers, assessors, and collectors. Each district was incorporated, thus introducing the disastrous policy of decentralization. In 1840 the township system was introduced with better results. With the admission of the State in 1846 a decided improvement appears. Dr. Aurner has carefully traced most of the changes made in the system down to the present. The first volume is written from the legal or historical standpoint. Little effort has been made to point out the merits or defects of its system or of the changes proposed or inaugurated. Volume II is divided into six parts dealing with (1) School supervision; (2) State boards; (3) Teachers' Institutes; (4) Teachers' Associations; (5) Miscellaneous activities; (6) Proposed legislation. In this volume the author writes of the State school system from a professional standpoint, pointing out the value of the agencies as he recites their history. Taken as a whole, it is a

commendable work, more thorough, perhaps, as a history than suggestive, as a discussion. For a publication of this nature this is the better plan. Many of the organizations and institutions discussed are still in active operation and for the writer of such a book to launch into a critical discussion would be to lose the support of many of his associates. Such a work as Dr. Aurner has performed should be a very valuable aid to the teachers of Iowa. By making thus clear the road they have traveled the path of future progress should be made straighter and plainer.

L. E.

*The Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association for 1913-1914* have just been distributed from the Torch Light Press of Cedar Rapids, Ia. They form Volume 7 of the series and include the papers and addresses of the meeting at Grand Forks, North Dakota, May 26, 27, and 28, 1914. Of interest to Indiana readers are "Some Phases of the History of the Northwest," by James A. James; "American Opinions Regarding the West, 1778-1783," by Paul C. Phillips; and "The Organization of the Jacksonian Party in Indiana," by Logan Esarey. The latter is a 24-page paper dealing with the formation of the Democratic Party in Indiana. It deals with the period from 1816 to 1832.

*The Minnesota Historical Bulletin* appeared for the first time February, 1915. It is the medium of communication between the members of the Historical Society. The first number contains an address by Prof. Clarence W. Alvord of the University of Illinois on the "Relation of the State to Historical Work." This address was delivered at the meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society, January 18, 1915, and also at Indianapodis at a recent meeting of the State History Teachers.

Dr. S. J. Buck, superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society, is editor of the new publication.

*The National Genealogical Society Quarterly* for April, 1915, contains 206 entries from the marriage records of Jefferson county (Louisville), Ky., between 1784 and 1800. In the list are the names of many Hoosier pioneers.

*Major George Adams* is the title of a pamphlet written by George A. Katzenberger of Greenville, Ohio. The biography recently appeared in the *Ohio State Archaeological and Historical*

*Society Publications.* Major Adams was prominent in the Indian wars which culminated in the treaty of Greenville in 1795; and he later served honorably in the War of 1812.

THE first number of *The Catholic Historical Review* published by the Catholic University of America at Washington appeared in April, 1915. It is a well executed magazine of 120 pages. Its purpose is to encourage the study of church history in the United States. The only article in the first number that is of especial significance for Indiana history is one by Rt. Rev. Camillus P. Maes, D. D., on "Flemish Franciscan Missionaries in North America (1674-1738)."

*The Biennial Report of the Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library* shows that Illinois is making great progress in the work of collecting and publishing the source materials of the State's history. The library now has 40,187 books and pamphlets besides a vast number of manuscripts and newspapers. A museum illustrative of the State's history has been founded. Two volumes have recently been published and it is expected that at least three more will be distributed this summer. The society has recently made a careful inspection of the county archives. The State annually appropriates \$25,000 for this work.

*The Missouri Historical Review* for April contains a biography of Nathaniel Patten, founder of the *Missouri Intelligencer and Boon's Lick Advertiser*, April 23, 1819. This was the first newspaper north of the Missouri and west of the Mississippi. Another article of equal interest is a "Bibliography of the Missouri Press Association." This association has held 48 annual meetings besides sessions. The Missouri State Historical Library has a full set of the addresses and papers of these meetings. No better history of the Missouri Press could be desired.

*The Seventh Biennial Report of the State Historical Society of Missouri* shows commendable activity on the part of the society. It was organized by the Missouri Press Association in 1898 and incorporated in 1899. The general assembly made it the trustee for the State of its documentary records. It now has 26,539 books and over 14,000 pamphlets on Missouri history. Six hundred eighty-one

newspapers of the State make it the repository of their files and send to it their current numbers. The society binds these and they are preserved. It now has 6,731 bound volumes of State newspapers. A magnificent new historical library building has been erected. The society has an income of about \$10,000 per year.

*The Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for April has an extended history of Des Moines, by D. E. Clark. Other shorter articles are "The Half-Breed Tract," by Jacob Van der Zee; "The Career of Jacob Rich," by George E. Roberts; "The Indians of Iowa," taken from *The Friend*, December 23, 1843.

THE Michigan Historical Commission is preparing for publication a volume of Michigan biographies. Stephen D. Bingham is editing and compiling the volume. The biographies of all the men who have been members of the State Legislature will be included. A bibliography of Michigan newspapers is in process of completion. The commission has also devoted a great deal of time to marking historical sites.

The commission has issued four *Bulletins*. The first is devoted to the origin, organization, and aims of the society; the second, to "Suggestions for Local Historical Societies and Writers in Michigan"; the third to an historical "Sketch of Historical Societies in Michigan," and the fourth to the year's "Proceedings."

IN the *Proceedings of American Antiquarian Society* for 1913 is a list of the newspapers of the United States founded before 1820. Indiana is represented by 17 papers. Of these, two were founded in Brookville (the *Plain Dealer*, 1816, and the *Enquirer*, 1819); one in Charlestown (the *Indiana Intelligencer*, 1818); two in Corydon (the *Indiana Gazette*, 1816, and the *Indiana Herald*, 1816); one in Jeffersonville (the *Indianian*, 1818); two in Lawrenceburg (the *Dearborn Gazette*, 1817, and the *Indiana Oracle*, 1819); three in Madison and Lexington (the *Western Eagle*, 1813, the *Cornucopia*, 1815, and the *Indiana Republican*, 1816); one from Salem (the *Tocsin*, 1818); two from Vevay (the *Examiner*, 1819, and the *Indiana Register*, 1816); and three from Vincennes (the *Indiana Sentinel*, 1817, *Indiana Gazette*, 1804, and the *Western Sun*, 1807). The last named is the only one now in existence.

THE Henry County Historical Society held its annual meeting at Newcastle April 29. Rev. F. S. C. Wicks made the principal address. His subject was "A Neglected Patriot." W. H. Keesling is president, and Mrs. Allegra Bufkin, secretary.

THE Independent Turnverein of Indianapolis unveiled a portrait of its founder, Adolph Seidensticker, at the Turnverein clubhouse May 2. Mr. Seidensticker was a leading citizen of the city from 1860 till his death in 1892. He was a leader in the Indianapolis Maennerchor, a lawyer by profession, but will doubtless be longer remembered as an editor. He edited the *Volksblatt*, the *Telegraph*, the *Spottvogel*, and *Zukunft*. The latter was the organ of the Turnerbund.

THE Indianapolis *Star* has been running in its Sunday magazine section a history of the press of Indiana. These articles commence with the founding of the *Western Sun* or rather the *Gazette*, at Vincennes in 1804, and so far have brought the story down to the forties. Accompanying each is a brief biography of some living editor or publisher of a current newspaper.

THE Salem *Democrat* continues its biographies of persons now living in Washington county past the age of 80. One of these biographies accompanied by a portrait occupies the front page of each number of the *Democrat*. Judging from these biographies, the great majority of the early settlers of that county came from Kentucky and the Carolinas.

THE Princeton *Clarion* continues its series of articles on Civil War Politics in Gibson County. The articles are written by Col. Gil R. Stormont, who took part in the campaigns he discusses.

THE Daviess County *Democrat*, April 3, 1915, contains a story by William Donelly. He relates that he came from Ireland with his parents and family in 1854. The entire trip was made by water, coming via New Orleans, ascending the Mississippi, the Ohio, the Wabash, and White rivers to Maysville. This was three years before the Baltimore and Ohio railroad was built, putting an end to water transportation to Washington. Mr. Donelly's story is interesting and typical.

THE Orleans *Progress-Examiner* is endeavoring to arouse enough historic interest in Orleans to enable the citizens to establish a marker for Freeman's Corner, which is very near their town.

THE *Steuben Republican* of March 17, 1915, has a brief historical notice of Tri-State College. The occasion was the thirtieth anniversary of the inauguration of President L. M. Sniff. The institution was then called the Tri-State Normal, was in its second year and in a condition of doubt as to its future existence. In the almost third of a century the school has prospered and done a great work for the State. The *Republican* rightly appreciates the great value of the school as a business asset of the city and community.

THE *Rising Sun Recorder* of March 5, 1915, has a brief notice of the library of the late Samuel F. Covington. The library was composed almost entirely of source material on Ohio Valley History. It contained files of the *Rising Sun Times*, 1833-1841; *Farmers' Journal*, *Sun-Journal*, *Dearborn County Register*, and *Indiana Patriot*, for the years 1837-1841; *Indiana Blade*, 1843-1848; *Indiana Whig*, 1848-1850; *Indiana Republican*, 1851-1854; *Ohio County Recorder*, 1868-1873; *Recorder*, 1874-1885; *Saturday News*, 1881; *Local*, 1880-1885. Besides these are many volumes of Madison and Cincinnati papers. There were also large numbers of pamphlets. The library went to Miami University as a gift.

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## Browsing Around Among Old Books\*

By DANIEL WAIT HOWE, President of Indiana Historical Society

When I gave the subject of this paper to the committee having in charge the announcement of subjects for the ensuing year, I had little thought of what I should tack to it that would fit the text. As soon as I began to write I discovered that my subject was capable of indefinite expansion. In fact, like old John Gilpin, "I little dreamt when I set out of running such a rig."

I begin by anticipating and admitting the truth of the criticism which I foresee will be made, that this paper was written by an old fogey who, in the last fifty years, has not progressed with sufficient rapidity to meet all modern requirements.

I have always liked to nose about an old second-hand book store. It is like wandering through an old curiosity shop. What strange old books we stumble upon—historical, political, religious, philosophical, scientific, poetical—all in a jumble. We are pretty certain to find Rollins's *Ancient History* and a lot of other old histories and encyclopedias. We shall be likely to find *Josephus*, *Plutarch's Lives*, *Tupper's Proverbial Philosophy*, and *Dick's Works*, and a lot of old school books, *Morse's Geography*, *Kirkham's Grammar*, *Pike's Arithmetic*, *McGuffey's Readers*, and perhaps some of *Webster's Spelling Books* and a lot of old atlases. We shall also be likely to find some of *Peter Parley's* children's books and other juveniles of a past age. Probably we shall find some old theological books—*Clarke on the Promises* and Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, lying peacefully side by side with *Paine's Age*

\*Read before the Indianapolis Literary Club, February 8, 1915.

*of Reason*, *Jack Shepherd*, and *The Pirate's Own Book*. We shall also find a great number of novels, mostly very old ones, *Thaddeus of Warsaw*, *Scottish Chiefs*, and *Children of the Abbey*, a lot of Maryatt's and perhaps some of Maria Edgeworth's *Popular and Moral Tales*. We shall be certain to find a large and miscellaneous assortment of old-timers that we never heard of before. Mingled with these we may possibly find a few law books, mournful remains of some young lawyer whose conscience forbade his charging fees commensurate with the value of his services, and some old medical books, full of jaw-breaking terms that frightened some young medical student into abandoning his chosen profession.

As for myself, I never could go into a second-hand book store and get out without buying a book. I suppose that I was an easy mark for dealers in old library junk. Occasionally I have an opportunity, of which I always gladly avail myself, of rummaging around in old closets, in attics and garrets, and picking out old books that have been handed down from generation to generation and have finally been tucked away in dark corners where they have not seen daylight for years; some that were worth something once, some that were never worth anything.

I have always been interested in reading about old libraries and in knowing what kind of books were in them. When John Bunyan wrote *Pilgrim's Progress*, a large part of it having been written while he was in prison, he had only two books, the Bible and Fox's *Book of Martyrs*.

We have a hint of some of the books in the library of Judge Sewall, of Boston, as far back as the year 1700. Sewall was a great lover of books. Here are the names of a few of the books ordered by him from London—with which doubtless most of the members of this Club are familiar: *Ars Cogitandi* (2), *Le Grand's Philosophy* (Latin), *Heerboordi Meletomata* (3), Dr. Charlton's *Physiologia*, Dr. Moor's *Immortality of the Soul*, *Metaphysics*, *Ethicks*, Glanvil's *Sceptis Scientifica*, Dr. Wilkin's *Natural Principles*, and *Duties*, his *World in the Moon*, *Stallius*, his *Regulae Phylosophicae*, Stierij *Questiones Physicae cum Praeceptis*, *Philosophiae*, *Burgerdicius*, *Logick with Heerebord's Notes*, the great *Historical, Geographical and Poetical Dictionary* being a curious Miscellany of Sacred and Prophane History printed at London for Henry Rhodes.

One of the earliest known public libraries in the Northwest Territory was a library established in Athens county, Ohio, about the year 1804, long known as the "coon-skin" library. It was so called because the books were bought, generally in Boston, in exchange for coon-skins and for the skins of other fur-bearing animals, mostly those shot and trapped by the farmer boys of the neighborhood. The first purchases, we are told, included the following: Robertson's *North America*, Harris's *Encyclopedia*, 4 Vols., Morse's *Geography*, 2 Vols., Adams's *Truth of Religion*, Goldsmith's *Works*, 4 Vols., *Eveline*, 2 Vols., *Children of the Abbey*, 2 Vols., *Blair's Letters*, Clarke's *Discoveries*, Ramsey's *American Revolution*, Goldsmith's *Animated Nature*, 4 Vols., Playfair's *History of Jacobinism*, *George Barnwell*, *Camilla*, 3 Vols., *Beggar Girl*, 3 Vols. Later purchases included: *Shakespeare*, *Don Quixote*, *Locke's Essay*, *Scottish Chiefs*, *Josephus*, Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, *Spectator*, *Plutarch's Lives*, *Arabian Nights*, *Life of Washington*.

It may be noted that fiction was well represented in this list and that the novels were pretty well up to date, including the latest English novel, Madame D'Arblay's *Camilla*. French novels had not then made their appearance in this country.

Speaking about old books suggests a query: When is a book to be regarded as old? This is a question as difficult, although not quite so delicate, as one about a lady's age. Some books age prematurely. Most novels are of this kind. Some of them are regarded as old in six months; some in a year; most of them in two years; some, like *Robinson Crusoe*, seem to be endowed with perpetual youth.

This question naturally leads to a consideration of the vitality of books. A few, like old classics, have lasted for centuries. The poets seem to live longest, but the list of English poets whose poetical works have lived over one hundred years is surprisingly small. Some great orations of Demosthenes and Cicero have come down through the ages, and some of Pitt's and Burke's and Fox's are still read. Of the great American orations how many are read today? Patrick Henry's speech on the Stamp Act is still read and still declaimed by the school boys. Webster's reply to Hayne and a few other of his speeches still live. Lincoln's Gettysburg address will be read as long as the American nation lasts. Of all the American speeches in the last fifty years I recall but

one that will probably be read in the next century. That is the speech of Colonel Robert Ingersoll, delivered in Indianapolis in 1876, or rather that portion of it beginning with the words: "The past rises before me like a dream." I heard all of it, standing in a drizzling rain within a few feet of the orator. I have read it many times since, and its eloquence always thrills me anew.

A considerable part of the literature of the seventeenth century consisted of books of a religious cast, sermons, tracts, discussions and the like. This was so in England, especially in the Cromwellian period. Carlyle tells us of this kind of literature and its fate.

"The Fast-day Sermons of St. Margaret's Church Westminister, in spite of printers, are all grown dumb! In long rows of little dumpy quartos, gathered from the book stalls, they indeed stand here bodily before us; by human volition they can be read, but not by any human memory remembered. We forget them as soon as read; they have become a weariness to the soul of man. They are dead and gone, they and what they shadowed; the human soul, got into other latitudes, cannot now give harbour to them."

Nearly all the literature in New England during the seventeenth century was of Puritan cast. One of them, John Norton's *The Orthodox Evangelist*, published in Boston in 1654, I have tried time and again to understand, but I never could grasp its meaning.

I suppose that theological students still read some of Hooker's and Jonathan Edward's sermons. Perhaps they are read by others out of curiosity to see if they still smell of fire and brimstone as has been charged. This reminds me that I once wanted to examine the volume of Jonathan Edward's works, containing his celebrated sermon on *A Sinner in the Hands of an Angry God*, one which it has been said New England may have forgiven but has never forgotten. I asked Mr. Fishback, a former President of this Club, if he could loan me the volume, when he answered with some warmth that he did not have it, but that if he had it the first thing he would do would be to burn it. This is not one of the volumes that I ever skim through for amusement. I hope, however, to vindicate myself against the suspicion of hopeless heresy by saying that I have some theological books in my library which I can read, and which I do sometimes read, with interest and profit, and without having a nightmare. Among these are the sermons

of two members whose names are still honored in this Club, Reverend Oscar McCullough and Reverend Myron Reed.

As illustrating the vitality of books, let us consider those of the Elizabethan age, a great age in English literature, and not so far back when we measure time by centuries. Of course, Shakespeare's works stand pre-eminent. His fame increases rather than diminishes. But Shakespeare was the greatest literary creative genius that ever lived. He is the product not of one only, but of many centuries. Next to Shakespeare stands Milton. He is still recognized as standing at the head of English epic poets. Daniel Webster, the prince of American orators, in the greatest of his orations, his reply to Hayne, drew from *Paradise Lost* the most striking of his illustrations. Still, I think it may be safely affirmed that *Paradise Lost* was not as popular in the middle of the nineteenth century as it was at the beginning of it, and that it is not as generally read now, either in England or America, as it was fifty years ago. Spenser's *Fairy Queen*, so noted in its day, is, of course, remembered, and the adventures of the Red Cross Knight and the fair Una are still read, but only by a very small minority of reading people. In the preface to Hart's *Essay on the Fairy Queen*, published in 1847, the author says: "Spenser was once regarded as the great storehouse of moral and intellectual truth. But the fashion of literature changes and the *Fairy Queen* has now become not unlike a half-decayed and unfrequented cathedral of the olden time." How many now read Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* in comparison with the number of those who read it fifty or one hundred years ago when more copies of it were sold than were copies of any other book except the Bible.

How many other books of the Elizabethan age have been forgotten or their names, if remembered at all, are remembered only by a few explorers of literary ruins? How many of the orations, the poems, the novels, since the Elizabethan age and before the beginning of the Victorian age, are read by any considerable number of people today? Here is a list of the poet-laureates of England since 1670 as given in Chambers's Encyclopedia: John Dryden, Nahum Tate, Nicholas Rowe, Laurence Eustace, Colley Cibber, William Whitehead, Thomas Wharton, Henry James Tye, Robert Southey, William Wordsworth and Alfred Tennyson. We remember Colley Cibber, not for his poetry, but because of his *Apology*, for his life. We remember Dryden and we still read

Wordsworth and Tennyson; but who reads the poems and how many remember even the names of the others? How many books of the nineteenth century may we safely affirm will be read at the end of the twentieth?

In order to curtail within a reasonable limit what I have to say about old books, I shall be obliged to restrict my remarks to those generally read in the days of my boyhood and young manhood—say between 1850 and 1860—excluding the old classics, scientific works, political books, and books read principally by students and scholars.

I was born on October 24, 1839. Milton thought that he had been born an age too late. I am glad that I was born into this world just when I was. I am glad that I was born in the nineteenth century; that I was born in a progressive and not a decadent age; that I was born in America; that I was born in a republic. It was an age of great beginnings; science was expanding; in Europe the people were chafing against despotism and questioning the divine right of kings; in England they were clamoring for reforms in government; civil and religious liberty were growing; Victoria was crowned Queen of England in 1838 and the great Victorian age began. Nowhere was civilization making more rapid strides than in America. Literature everywhere felt the touch of progress, but it is of literature as it was about the middle of the nineteenth century and of books then generally read that I wish more particularly to speak.

In the early fifties I lived in the family of Samuel P. Oyler, my step-father, in Franklin, the county seat of Johnson county, in Indiana. There was no public library in the town. The State Legislature had made provision in 1852 for a system of public township libraries, but the system soon broke down and the books in the Franklin township library disappeared..

The Indiana State library was established in 1825, but did not make much of a showing until after 1850. Even in Indianapolis, the capital of the state, there was no public city library until 1871.

Nevertheless we had books. There was a small but good collection in the Franklin College library. There were several very good private libraries in the town, and the owners were liberal in loaning their books. My step-father was a great lover of books and he had a considerable and very good collection of them, which I now have and which includes many of the books men-

tioned, and many more that are not mentioned, in this paper. Among his books were some old histories, including Robertson's *History of the Middle Ages*; some philosophical works, such as the philosophies of Brown and Cousins, a few scientific books, and some books of a theological cast, such as Gregory's *History of the Church*, Jews' *Letters to Voltaire*, Ranke's *History of the Reformation*, John Norton's *Orthodox Evangelist*, and sermons and discourses sufficient for a small family; also Edward's book on *Spiritualism*, which had begun to be talked about.

His library also included a large number of biographies, some collections, such as Coleridge's *Biographia Literaria*, Creasy's *Eminent Etonians*, and a great number of individual biographies. Among these was Weems's *Life of Washington*, published in 1837, in which the good rector who wrote it told about the hatchet and the cherry tree and other stories illustrating the pious training of the Father of His Country. These long remained, but were finally exploded by Sparks and other iconoclastic historians, who showed that, notwithstanding his early training, that illustrious man had some of the failings of other mortals, one of them being that he was liable to give way to violent paroxysms of rage in which he was apt to swear like a trooper. My step-father's library contained several dramatic works, including those of Shakespeare, Beaumont and Fletcher, Boker, Ben Jonson, Massinger, and Bulwer, but I must admit that I never read any but those of Shakespeare. In the library were also many poetical works, including those of Milton, Dryden, Pope, Wordsworth, Burns, Byron, Moore, Scott, Tupper, Montgomery, Ossian, Praed, Mrs. Hemans, Eliza Cook and several others. The library also contained the *Tatler* and *Guardian*, *Spectator*, and the essays of the leading British essayists. It also contained most of the works of the leading English novelists, Fielding, Smollett, Maryatt, Bulwer, Scott, Dickens, Jane Austen, Maria Edgeworth, Miss Mitford, and other standard English novels; also Tupper's and other English novels of less note.

Besides the books I have mentioned there was also in my step-father's library a considerable miscellaneous assortment of literary odds and ends not worth particular mention. My own father, who died when I was an infant, had made the beginning of a library and among his books, which I inherited, were the volumes of the old *Encyclopedia Americana*, the second edition, published

in 1836, in thirteen volumes. The binding is still as good as new, a delight to the eye, nothing like the shoddy stuff we get nowadays.

So that in my younger days I had access to all the books that I had the time and opportunity to read. Indeed, there were many books in my step-father's library that I never had time to read; but there were also a great many that I did read. To these I have since added many more. Ever since then I have appreciated the advantage of having a good home library where the children of the household *see* the books every day and have an opportunity to get acquainted with them and to make companions of them.

Most of the English books of any note in England were reprinted in this country, and in them we find the imprints of some old American publishing houses whose names are now recalled only by the title pages of the books they once published.

There were some English books, besides poetical works and novels, that were popular in America in the early fifties. The two volumes of Chambers's *Information for the People* were reprinted in this country in 1854 and had a great sale here. They contained in compact and readable form a vast amount of information about many scientific, historical and other subjects of interest to the general reader, and were of special value to those who were unable to purchase the more voluminous but expensive encyclopedias. Dick's *Complete Works*, also containing a great deal of general information written in popular style, were reprinted in 1851 in this country, where they had an immense sale. Other English books, such as Humboldt's *Cosmos* and all of Hugh Miller's including his *Old Red Sandstone*, *My Schools and School Masters*, and *Footprints of the Creator*, were also well known in this country in the early fifties. The doctrine of Evolution, then thought to border on sacrilege, had also begun to attract attention and Darwin's *Origin of Species* was widely read in America as well as in England. Spencer's *Social Statics* also excited much interest, and gave a great impetus to the study of sociology in the United States as well as in England. Another English book, extremely popular in America in the early fifties, was Martin Farquar Tupper's *Proverbial Philosophy*, published in 1839. It was unmercifully ridiculed by critics; nevertheless it passed through over forty editions and was translated into several languages. It had an extraordinary sale in the United States, where, it is said,

over five hundred thousand copies were sold. DeTocqueville's *Democracy in America* was also very popular.

Most reading people in America in the year 1850 knew something about ancient and modern history, but there was a prevalent prejudice against both Gibbon and Hume on account of their religious views. Moreover, the style of both was too pompous to suit the popular mind. Macaulay in his *History of England*, the first two volumes appearing in 1848, had begun to make history more attractive than it had ever been made by any prior historian.

In American history in 1850 the leading historians were Bancroft and Hildreth. It seemed that the publication of Bancroft's history would never end. The first volume was published in 1834 and was succeeded by others at varying intervals, the last, the tenth, not being published until many years afterwards; so that Bancroft's history has been styled by one critic, "A mammoth preparation to begin a History of the United States." There were some objectionable features in Bancroft's style, and another critic says that his history might properly be called "The Psychological Autobiography of George Bancroft as Illustrated by Incidents and Characters in the Annals of the United States." Hildreth was strongly anti-slavery, with marked federal proclivities. His work was very dry, but has always been regarded as authoritative. Other American historians were Prescott, and later, Motley and Parkman. The latter's *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, published in 1857, is not only historically accurate, but it is as fascinating as a novel.

Of course all reading people read Shakespeare, although such was the prejudice against the theater that many who read Shakespeare would not venture to see one of his plays acted upon the stage. At an early day one of the preachers in Indianapolis was suspected of heterodox notions and was obliged to resign his pastorate. One of the serious charges against him was that he had been caught in the very act of reading Shakespeare to his wife. I feel bound to say that the capital city of Indiana by the middle of the nineteenth century had made considerable progress in literary liberty, to which, doubtless, Henry Ward Beecher, who at a later period occupied a pulpit in Indianapolis, largely contributed.

The first part of Goethe's *Faust* was published in Germany in 1806 and there were several English translations prior to 1850, but the best, that of Bayard Taylor, was not published until 1871. It is impossible to translate the exact meaning and the nice shade

of poetic coloring from one language into another, and for this reason Goethe's great work was not generally read in America in my younger days, but the poets whose poems were most generally read were the English and American poets.

Of course Milton, if we class Shakespeare among the dramatists and not among the poets, stood at the head of the old English poets. "Not to know Milton," it has been said, "is to argue yourself unknown." In his essay on Milton, Macaulay asserts that as "Civilization advances Poetry necessarily declines;" but notwithstanding the great authority of Macaulay, his assertion does not seem to be sustained as applied to lyric poetry and may be questioned, even as to epic poetry, when we consider the popularity of Tennyson's *Idylls of the King*. There are other reasons, besides the advance of civilization, by which we may account for the decline in popularity of Milton and other of the old English poets. However this may be, it is certainly true, as already stated, that Milton's poems were not as popular in the middle of the last century as they were at the beginning of it, and that they are not as popular now as they were fifty years ago. Other of the old English poets, like Dryden, although celebrated in their day, were not so popular in this country in the early fifties. Some of Pope's poems, such as his *Essay on Man* and his *Eloise and Abelard*, were read, but Pope's poems had seemingly lost their charm. Some of the older poets were remembered, but more for their shorter, than for their longer poems, and some were remembered for only one or two, as we remember Goldsmith for his *Deserted Village*, Gray for his *Elegy in a Country Churchyard*, or Campbell for his *Battle of Hohenlinden*. Indeed, by 1850, people had not only forgotten the poems, but also the names of many of the old poets. These had been succeeded by a newer generation, Byron, Thomas Moore and others. Byron occupied then, as he still does, a somewhat anomalous position among early English poets. His *Don Juan* was very witty. It also contained some beautiful stanzas, but the levity and low moral tone which characterized the entire poem made it objectionable to many reading people, prejudicing them not only against this particular poem, but against all of Byron's poetical works. Nevertheless, his *Destruction of Sennacherib* exhibited a sublimity of thought and expression equaled by few of the English poets, and there were passages in some of his other poems, such as the lines in *Childe*

*Harold* describing the the Battle of Waterloo, and the lines depicting the Dying Gladiator, which displayed poetic genius of the highest order. This served to place Byron, notwithstanding the objections to his *Don Juan*, in the front rank of English poets. Thomas Moore was also well and favorably known, but chiefly by his shorter lyrics, such as *Oft in the Stilly Night* and some others rather than by *Lalla Rookh* and his longer poems.

Of the longer modern poems by far the most popular in England and in America in the early fifties were Scott's *Lady of the Lake* and *Marmion*, which retain their popularity to this day. My mother could begin with almost any line in the *Lady of the Lake* and quote from memory a whole page.

Of the writers of short poems, Robert Burns was extremely popular. His exquisite poem, *The Cotter's Saturday Night*, was as familiar in my youth in America as it was in England. So were some of his other short poems, such as his *Ode to a Mouse*. Tennyson published his *In Memoriam* in 1850, and in 1854 his *Charge of the Light Brigade*; his *Idylls of the King* did not appear until 1859. These at once received unstinted praise both in England and in this country and placed Tennyson in the front rank among English poets.

One English poet, Wordsworth, achieved great fame despite the sneers of his critics, and in almost every volume of selected poems we find more quotations from those of Wordsworth than we find from any other English poet except Shakespeare. Wordsworth became poet-laureate in 1834 and died in 1850. Some of his earlier poems gave little promise of his subsequent fame. It is difficult to recognize any great poetical genius in such poems as the one about *Goody Blake and Harry Gill*, or in the poem which tells of *Betty Foy* and her Idiot Boy, concluding with this stanza:

"And thus, to Betty's queries, he  
    Made answer like a traveler bold  
    (His very words I give to you)  
    'The cocks did crow to-whoo, to-whoo  
        And the sun did shine so cold'  
—Thus answered Johnny in his glory  
    And that was all his travels story."

or in the poem about Peter Bell, with a donkey as chief hero, and which winds up by telling how wicked Peter—

"Forsook his courses, renounced his folly  
    And, after ten months of melancholy,  
        Became a good and honest man."

and one would have to be of an extremely lachrymose as well as poetical disposition in order to weep over Alice Fell.

These poems were mercilessly ridiculed by Jeffrey, then the Autocrat of British reviewers, in the Edinburgh, at that time the greatest of the reviews. Jeffrey was not simply severe; he was almost ferocious. He began the review of the *Excursion* with this savage sentence: "This, we think, has the merit of being the very worst poem we ever saw imprinted in a quarto volume." A later English writer, less prejudiced than Jeffrey, expresses this opinion of Wordsworth: "Had he gone on writing nothing but the 'Betty Foys' and 'Alice Fells' which Jeffrey laughed at we should not have had in this place to do a biography of him. It is despite a great deal of perverse drivel, besides indifferent matter otherwise, and not in the least because of it, that he continued, and must continue, to be remembered." But Wordsworth did write some poems that are often quoted, such as the one on *Revisiting the Banks of the Wye*, the one entitled *She Was a Phantom of Delight*, and one on *Intimations of Immortality*. One of them, *We Are Seven*, was reprinted in the old McGuffey's Reader and was familiar to American school children in my boyhood days.

Robert Browning was little known in America prior to 1850. His most noted, poem, *The Ring and the Book*, was not published until 1869. An English critic says that "It can be comprehended by poets only," and, it may be added, by but few of them. After more than forty years of futile efforts to decipher the meaning of some of its occult passages they still remain unintelligible to the great majority of American readers.

Mrs. Hemans was the most popular of the female English poets. She was a voluminous writer. Her verses were highly praised by Jeffrey and other English critics. Her larger and more ambitious poems have not sustained the reputation of the author and her shorter ones were of unequal merit, but some of them were very beautiful and have become classics in English Literature, such as her *English Homes* and *Treasures of the Deep*. Reprints of the English editions of her complete poetical works were produced in this country at an early date and made her as well known in this country as in England. The original manuscript of her well known poem, *The Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers in New England*, is carefully preserved among the sacred relics in Pilgrim Hall in Plymouth, Massa-

chusetts. Some of her poems, such as *He Never Smiled Again*, and *Casibianca*, the one that tells of the boy who "stood on the burning deck," were printed in the school books in my boyhood days and *Casibianca* was a favorite poem for recitation in village and country schools. Some of the poems of Mrs. Eliza Cook, another English poetess, not so famous as Mrs. Hemans, were also popular in America as well as in England. *The Old Arm Chair* was one of my mother's favorites.

We had some American poets as early as 1850 who afterward became famous. Bryant's *Thanatopsis* was published in 1816, and many other of his poems at later dates. Neither Whittier nor Longfellow, prior to 1850, had become known as one of the greatest American poets.

Whittier began writing poetry as early as 1825, but most of his poems prior to 1850 were written in condemnation of slavery. No complete collection of them was published until 1849. *Maud Muller* was published in 1854; *Eternal Goodness* in 1865; *Snow Bound* in 1866 and *Tent on the Beach* in 1867. His *Snow Bound* is as striking and beautiful a description of New England rural life as Burns's *Cotter's Saturday Night* is of rural Scottish life. Through many of Whittier's poems there runs a deep religious vein, but his theology was in striking contrast with the fire and brimstone kind that had been handed down by such Puritan ministers as Hooker and Jonathan Edwards. This is especially true of the *Eternal Goodness* and *Snow Bound*, two poems that would have immortalized Whittier's name if he had never written any others. Not only do they charm us with their poetic imagery and melody but the sublime faith of the poet which is expressed in them reaches and comforts our souls. We see it expressed in this passage from *Snow Bound*:

"Alas for him who never sees  
The stars shine through his cypress trees!  
Who, hopeless, lays his dead away,  
Nor looks to see the break of day  
Across the mournful marbles play!  
Who hath not learned in hours of faith,  
The truth to flesh and sense unknown,  
That life is ever Lord of Death,  
And Love can never lose its own!"

We also see the poet's faith in these beautiful stanzas in *The Eternal Goodness*:

"And so beside the Silent Sea  
I wait the muffled oar;  
No harm from Him can come to me  
On ocean or on shore.

I know not where His islands lift  
Their fronded palms in air;  
I only know I cannot drift  
Beyond His love and care."

I have mentioned Burns's *Ode to a Mouse*. Considering it merely as an illustration of poetic art I think it one of the most beautiful lyrics ever written, charming for its simple but exquisite imagery; but we see the contrast between the hope that cheered and sustained Whittier's soul and the doubt that clouded and depressed the soul of Burns when we compare the stanzas above quoted with this in the *Ode to a Mouse*.

"Still thou are blest, compar'd wi' me!  
The present only toncheth thee:  
Bnt Och! I backward cast my e'e,  
    On prospects drear!  
    And forward, tho' I canna see,  
    I guess and fear."

Longfellow's *Evangeline* was published in 1848, but his *Courtship of Miles Standish* and many of his beautiful short poems were not published until a later period.

Some of the metaphors in *The Courtship of Miles Standish* are of exquisite beauty such as we see in these lines in which Priscilla, the Puritan maiden, is speaking to John Alden:

"Hence is the inner life of so many suffering women  
Sunless and silent and deep like subterranean rivers  
Running through caverns of darkness, unheard, unseen, and unfruitful,  
Chafing their channels of stone, with endless and profitless murmurs."

But it is in some of his shorter poems that we see more clearly the wonderful power of the poet to draw inspiration from the simplest characters and commonest incidents of everyday life and to clothe them with poetic beauty. This is strikingly manifest in the *Village Blacksmith*, a poem now known and that will always be known wherever the English language is spoken. We see it also

in other of his short poems as in *The Reaper and the Flowers* and in *Rain in Summer*.

Emerson, although known chiefly by his essays, also wrote a few poems disclosing a poetic genius of high order. One of these was his *Concord Hymn*, the first stanza of which is often quoted:

"By the rude bridge that arched the flood,  
Their flag to April breeze unfurled,  
Here once the embattled farmers stood  
And fired the shot heard round the world."

Doctor Oliver Wendell Holmes was widely known by his contributions to the *Atlantic Monthly*, especially by his *Autocrat of the Breakfast Table* and other prose writings, but he also wrote some poetry of a high order, such as his *Chambered Nautilus* and *Last Leaf*, in which is this stanza, often quoted:

"The mossy marbles rest  
On the lips that he had pressed  
In their bloom  
And the names he loved to hear  
Have been carved for many year  
On the tomb."

James Russell Lowell was known as a poet prior to 1850. He gained increased celebrity by the first series, begun in 1846, of the *Bigelow Papers*, a witty poetical and political satire written in Yankee dialect. They still retain a unique place in American literature. One often quoted is that beginning with this funny stanza:

"Guverner B. is a sensible man;  
He stays to his home an' looks arter his folks;  
He draws his furrer ez straight ez he can;  
But John P.  
Robinson he  
Sez he Can't vote for Guverner B."

Lowell was master of the Yankee dialect, of which he had made a special study, as careful probably as any he had made of Greek or Latin. One of the best of his poems in this dialect was the *Courtin'*, portraying a very lifelike and very humorous picture of this agreeable pastime in primitive New England. Among his later poems one, considered by some as his best, is the *Commemoration Ode* in 1865. He became widely known after 1850 not only as a poet but also as one of the founders, and long the editor of the *Atlantic*

Monthly and later still as Minister to Spain and afterwards to England.

There were some American poets who achieved distinction by a few poems, some by only one or two. Poe was known chiefly by his *Raven*; Francis Scott Key, by his *Star Spangled Banner*; John Howard Payne by *Home, Sweet Home*; Samuel Woodworth by his *Old Oaken Bucket*.

Griswold in his *Female Poets of America* has preserved the names of some of the most popular of the early American female poets. In the edition of Griswold published in 1860 there is a list of ninety-three, beginning with Anne Bradstreet, the first American poetess. The first edition of her poems was published in Boston in 1640 and so entranced some of the Puritan divines that one of them, Cotton Mather, compared her to Hypatia, Sorocchia, the three Corinnes, the Empress Eudocia and Pamphila; and the Reverend John Norton expressed the opinion that if Virgil could have heard Mrs. Bradstreet's poems he would have been mortified with the inferiority of his own.

In the early fifties the most popular of the poets named in Griswold's list were Mrs. Sigourney and the Carey sisters, Alice and Phoebe. Included in the list are some western poets. Two of them, Mrs. Sarah T. Bolton and Mrs. Rebecca S. Nichols, were well-known in Indiana. Mrs. Bolton's married life was mostly spent in Indianapolis where she is still well remembered. Mr. Jacob Piatt Dunn has given a very interesting sketch of her in his *History of Indianapolis*. One of her poems, *Paddle Your Own Canoe*, was often quoted for many years after its publication and its popularity was increased by its being set to music. Mrs. Nichols resided in Indianapolis after 1858 and until her death. Several of her poems are included in Griswold's collection. One of them, the *Philosopher's Toad*, is an apt takeoff of the Ancient and Honorable Society of Old Fogies.

The fame of some of the female poets enumerated in Griswold's list, such as Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe and Mrs. Helen Hunt Jackson, rests mainly upon their prose and not upon their poetical writings. Mrs. Julia Ward Howe is also remembered for her prose writings and her poetical fame is based more upon the poems which she wrote after 1860. Her most celebrated poem, *The Battle Hymn of the Republic*, was not written until after the beginning of the

Civil War. In these days not only the poems but the names of most of the authors enumerated in Griswold have been forgotten.

Of course most reading Americans were familiar in 1850 with the essays of the leading English essayists, particularly Jeffrey, Sydney Smith and Macaulay. Many of these were first published in the *Edinburg Review* and were reprinted and published in this country under the general title of *The Modern British Essayists*. In speaking of essays, I must not omit to mention Bacon's and especially the delightful essays of Charles Lamb and those of Addison in the *Spectator*. They are not so much read now as they were fifty or more years ago, but they are as charming as ever. American essays were not so plentiful in 1850, although Emerson's essays were then well known not only in this country but in England.

American humor had not been fully developed in 1850. There are so many shades of it that perhaps it is not safe to say that it has yet been fully developed, for each generation brings to us a humorist of a type wholly different from that of his predecessors. The humor of Dickens is not like that of Artemus Ward; Ward's is not like that of Petroleum V. Nasby, and Nasby's is not like that of Mark Twain; and yet all these shades are pleasing. Irving's *Knickerbocker's History of New York*, a witty burlesque, was published in 1809 and still retained its great popularity in the early fifties. Some of Oliver Wendell Holmes's writings, especially his *Breakfast Table* series, were distinguished not only for their charming literary style, but also for their exquisite humor. Of Lowell's humorous poems I have already spoken. One book of a humorous sort that was quite popular was Haliburton's *Sam Slick*. The sayings of the Yankee clock peddler were not only highly entertaining, but highly instructive, and will repay reading today.

There were some American books not coming within any of the classes before mentioned that were quite popular in the fifties. Among them were Theodore Winthrop's *Canoe and the Saddle*, which afterwards passed to the seventh edition, and Dana's *Two Years Before the Mast*, and some others, mostly of an ephemeral character, that I have not space in which to enumerate.

As akin to the subject of books, it is proper to mention magazines and newspapers. I do not think that the English magazines were generally taken or generally read in America in 1850, at least not as far west as Indiana. The magazines generally read at that

time in this country were American magazines. At the head stood the *North American Review*, established in 1815. Its reading matter was of the solid kind better appreciated by scholars and advanced thinkers than it was by the general public. Probably the most popular family magazine in the early fifties, and for several years afterwards, was *Harper's Magazine*. It is interesting now to look through some of the early volumes with their cheap wood-cuts and compare them with the beautifully printed and illustrated numbers in recent years. What then gave its greatest charm to *Harper's Magazine* was the department styled the "Editor's Easy Chair," in which George Williams Curtis discoursed in his charming and felicitous way.

The *Atlantic Monthly* was established in 1857. It immediately took the high rank which it has ever since maintained. Holmes's *Autocrat of the Breakfast Table* and contributions by other leading writers made the magazine popular from the start.

There were several newspapers, mostly those published in the large eastern cities, having a general circulation in this country as early as 1850, but the *New York Tribune* took the lead in the North. Its political editorials, written by Horace Greeley, Charles A. Dana and other well-known writers of the editorial staff, exercised a powerful influence in shaping the political sentiment of the North. It contained other features that made it popular as a family newspaper, and it was eagerly read by old and young in many homes in the West as well as in the East. One of its correspondents was Bayard Taylor, and his letters telling of his foreign travels were always interesting. In the early fifties the *Tribune* also devoted a portion of its reading pages to fiction. Solon Robinson's novel, *Hot Corn*, quite popular for a time, was first published as a serial in the *Tribune*. The *Tribune* was the first newspaper that I took an interest in reading, and this was long before I reached manhood. My mother prized it more highly than anything in print except her Bible. It was her habit to read every line in the paper except the advertisements. One result of this was that up till the day of her death, in her eighty-eighth year, nothing could ever shake her devout belief—as fixed and fundamental as any of the thirty-nine articles—in the infallibility of the Republican party.

A very popular family newspaper in 1850 and for several years later was the *New York Ledger*. Fiction occupied a prominent

place in its columns. One of its contributors was Sylvanus Cobb, Jr., a very prolific writer, whose novels were widely read. His weekly instalments invariably stopped abruptly in the midst of some exciting incident and concluded with the exasperating statement: "To be continued next week." Another popular contributor was Mrs. Parton, a sister of N. P. Willis, who wrote under the name of Fanny Fern. Her papers were extremely popular at the time. Some of them were afterwards published in book form, but had only an ephemeral existence.

I presume that the great mass of people in the early fifties, as now, read more novels than anything else. They had grown tired of reading many of the old books, particularly the old theological discourses and discussions that formed so large a part of the literature of the preceding century. I began at an early age by reading *Robinson Crusoe* and followed it with good old Peter Parley's *Captive of Nootka Sound*. Some French novels were well known in this country when I was a young man. One of them, Le Sage's *Gil Blas*, was known, but I think little read, although in its day it enjoyed extraordinary popularity and was translated into many languages. Probably the most popular of the French novels were Dumas's *Monte Christo* and Sue's *Mysteries of Paris* and *Wandering Jew*. The last I read in 1864 with intense interest, enhanced probably by the fact that I was then lying helpless on a cot in an army hospital upon the top of Look-out Mountain, where there was nothing to do but to read, and with not another book for miles around. Under such circumstances a man who has been used to reading finds that he has a ravenous appetite for something—anything—to read, and even an almanac is entertaining. Once in my army life, when on the march through the mountains of East Tennessee, and in a state of mental starvation for something to read, I accidentally got hold of Blair's *Rhetoric*, a very ancient and very dry old-timer, and devoured every word of it while on picket. Victor Hugo's great novel, *Les Miserables*, was not published until 1862, but at once became immensely popular everywhere.

One old novel maintained its standing and still holds its place, and probably always will, *The Vicar of Wakefield*. The English novels most generally read in this country about the middle of the last century were those of Scott and Dickens. Scott published *Waverly* in 1814, and other novels followed in rapid suc-

cession. Scott was a prodigious and rapid worker. His *Guy Mannering* was written, so it has been said, in six weeks. No English novelist has ever supplanted him in his field. The chapters of *Ivanhoe*, describing the journey of Richard the lion-hearted through the Sherwood Forest, including the chapters describing the night with Friar Tuck, the tournament, the siege of the Castle of Torquilstane, and the rescue by Robin Hood, are unsurpassed in English literature in romantic interest and thrilling adventure. *Guy Mannering* is equally fascinating. With some, *Old Mortality* was the favorite. The enduring popularity of Scott's novels is manifest in the new editions that come every year from the English and American press.

Dickens divided honors with Scott, although Dickens's novels covered an entirely different field and were written in an entirely different style. I am myself an enthusiastic admirer of Dickens. I regard him as, next to Shakespeare, the greatest character painter in the English language. Many of his characters are as familiar as are those of Shakespeare. His novels are pure. He sometimes shows us the slums, but he does not pick from them his chief heroes and heroines and portray them in alluring garb. His *Christmas Carol* is a better sermon on charity than most of the sermons that are preached from the pulpit. Jane Austen's novels were still popular in the early fifties. Charlotte Bronte's *Jane Eyre* was published in 1848. It created a great sensation both in England and in America. My mother and I sat up one night until nearly two o'clock in the morning to finish reading it, and then we were both almost afraid to retire lest we might be frightened in the night by the apparition of Rochester's wife rending her wedding veil over our beds. Thackeray's *Vanity Fair* was published in 1847, and by 1850 he was well and favorably known in America. Mrs. Craik, who wrote under the name of Dinah Maria Muloch, published her first novel in 1849, but the novel that made her famous in America was *John Halifax, Gentleman*, published in 1857. It does not rank with the greatest English novels, but it is a delightful book. The heroine's love is neither pedantic, nor platonic, nor spectacular, but sweet and womanly. Not an impure thought is suggested in the book, which appeals to the best and not to that which is worst in us. In these respects it is in striking contrast with some of the latest best-sellers. Charles Reade published his *Peg Woffington* in 1852 and this was followed by many others. I never

read any of his novels except *Griffith Gaunt*, published in 1866. I did not like it; it was a marked advance in the direction of novels of the sensational type that have since become so popular and, as I think, so demoralizing. George Eliot's *Adam Bede*, a very popular English novel, widely read in America, was not published until 1859. After 1850 Wilkie Collins and many other English novelists appeared and later had many readers in America. My step-father's edition of Tupper's *Crock of Gold* and other novels was an American reprint published in 1851, but Tupper's novels have long since been forgotten. There were some American novels widely read in this country in the early fifties. Cooper's novels, especially his *Leather Stocking Tales*, five in all, were very popular. So were Hawthorne's novels, especially his *Scarlet Letter*. Mrs. Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* came out first as a serial in the *National Era*. It was published in book form in 1852 and created a tremendous sensation, not only in America, but all over the world. No American book ever published has been translated into so many languages or has had such an enormous sale. Mrs. Stowe essayed some other novels, among them the *Minister's Wooing*, but they did not achieve a great success, and I think that they are not often read now. Bayard Taylor also wrote some novels. *John Godfrey's Fortune* and *Hannah Thurston* were for a time talked about, but I presume that they are no longer read. There were also some other American novels of lesser note that I suppose have been forgotten by most people of this day, such as *Horse-shoe Robinson* and *Nick of the Woods, or the Jibbenaino-say*. I have omitted many novels that were read when I was a young man, some perhaps unintentionally, but many because I have not the space in which to enumerate them. Of course, there were a great many of the kind humorously described by Lowell as "suitable only to a desolate island."

No one old enough to remember fifty years back can have failed to notice the great increase during that period in the reading of magazines, newspapers and fiction. This was noted by Doctor Noah Porter, president of Yale, more than thirty years ago in his *Books and Reading*. The increase is much more manifest today. Doctor Porter thinks that too much desultory reading, even of magazines and newspapers, impairs the memory and gives only a smattering of many matters, leaving us an imperfect knowledge of others of which we should be more thoroughly

informed. Of the excessive reading of novels, particularly novels of the sensational class, Doctor Porter says:

"The reader of novels only, especially if he reads many, becomes very soon an intellectual voluptuary, with feeble judgment, a vague memory, and an incessant craving for some new excitement. It is rare that a reader of this class studies novels which he seems to read. He knows and cares little for the novel of character as contrasted with the novel of incident. He reads for the story as he says, and it usually happens that the sensational and extravagant, the piquant and equivocal stories are those which please him best. Exclusive and excessive novel reading is to the mind as a kind of intellectual opium eating in its stimulant effects upon the phantasy and its stupefying and bewildering influence on the judgment. An inveterate novel-reader speedily becomes a literary *roue*, and this is possible at a very early period of life."

Since Doctor Porter wrote his *Books and Reading*; since Howells wrote his delightful and pure story of *Silas Lapham*, American novels have poured from the press in a vast and ever-increasing flood. Scarcely any one has time to read them all; it would be difficult to enumerate them, impossible to classify them.

Many of these novels are of a distinctly socialistic tone, and in them we have unfolded Utopian schemes of government and fantastic theories of religion and long discussions of the profoundest and most perplexing problems of government, religion, and society, all being resolved with ease; discussions in which philosophy is reeled out by the ream and plans for reforming the universe are tossed off with amazing rapidity.

In such novels nearly all the rich who figure as prominent characters are described as of the predatory kind and nearly all the sins and suffering of society are charged to them, ignoring the fact that much, if not most, of the misery of mankind originates in lust, hate, envy, pride, wicked thirst for power, depraved appetites and vicious desires, common to poor and rich alike.

Then we have another and far more demoralizing kind of novels; those of a purely sensational type, written with no other apparent object than that of appealing to a class of readers whose morbid and depraved appetites, already cloyed with sensational literature, is continually craving for something still more stimulating. They seethe and sizzle with exciting incidents. They portray impossible heroes and heroines, and give caricatures of society, the realities of which are not to be found anywhere, and

wholly false and distorted ideas of American life as a whole, especially as it is found in our smaller cities and towns and rural districts. In these novels frightful catastrophes and blood-curdling scenes follow one another in quick succession, the whole being highly seasoned with divorce, adultery, seduction, embezzlement, robbery, murder and other stimulating condiments thoroughly mixed so as to produce a steaming, red-hot literary pudding.

I quote from an article in the *Atlantic Monthly* for December, 1914, contributed by an eminent English critic, Mr. Edward Garnett:

"It may be added that a vital reason for the discouragement of crude, violent, and noisy art is that an audience which is habituated to being 'thrilled' will require coarser and coarser stimulants to excite its jaded mental palate. Sensational art is art in which everybody seems to be talking at the top of his voice to attract attention, till at last the hubbub becomes so deafening that people, still resolved on being heard, begin to howl and scream. So it is with 'best sellers' that are 'all outside' and no 'inside' and with 'New Fiction that People are Reading'; the publishers and authors seem to be conspiring to force the note of exaggeration till the typical 'best seller' works with automatic perversion in producing scenes of sweet sentimentalism or shock after shock of melodramatic incident. If I am in error in thinking that twenty years ago the American novel of sensation was a far soberer and more human affair than it is today, I should welcome evidence on the point."

Let us take, for comparison with *Silas Lapham*, an up-to-date American sensational novel, Harold Bell Wright's *In the Eyes of the World*. I have never read it myself but there is in the *Bookman* for January, 1915, a review of this novel by Mr. Fredric Taber Cooper, who pronounces it "an extraordinary hotch-potch of seduction, abduction, murder and other human foulness." Now the significant fact in this connection is, not that such novels are written and published and read by a few, but the fact that when we turn a few pages in the number of the *Bookman* containing this criticism we come to the page giving a list of the six "best sellers" and we find that this particular novel heads the list. I leave others to draw from these facts their own conclusions.

But I am digressing and I return to my subject. In late years I have not devoted much time to the reading of my old books, but occasionally, when I do not want to read on some special subject, I spend a few spare moments in "browsing around" in my library. Sometimes I read one of Plutarch's biographies, or some of the

essays of Bacon or Charles Lamb, or a page or two in some scrappy book that one can read without missing the connection with that which precedes or with that which follows it; or I read a striking passage from some prose collection, or a beautiful poem from some poetical collection, usually some short poem, such as some of those mentioned in this paper, poems that one can read and re-read a thousand times, poems that never lose their sweet fragrance. Often I read from some book of quotations containing short extracts from authors old and young.

Many of my old books recall the name of some loved one; some pleasant recollection of childhood; some delightful vision of by-gone days; some sweet spot in memory where our thoughts love to linger, as the tired traveler loves to linger in some beautiful oasis.

Some of these old relics I have stowed away in the attic, partly to save them from the clutches of the junk dealer, and partly, I must admit, to avoid the possibility of a threatened domestic insurrection against parading so many old frayed-out books in the best room in the house. Most of them are not worth mentioning. All are hoary with age; all are antiquated remains of antiquated ideas. Some still preserve a faint appearance of faded gentility, indicating that once they had mingled in good society; some are little better than literary ragamuffins that at some time and somehow—I don't know how—have crept into my library. They have no pecuniary value. The entire lot would not sell at auction for thirty cents. But some were the companions of my youth; we have all grown old together; and so I will give them shelter as long as I live. May they rest in peace.

## An English Colony in Floyd County

By JOHN POUCHER, D. D.

[The author of the subjoined article is a native of England, in the heart of the Puritan region, Lincolnshire, born in 1843. In 1851 he came with his parents to New Albany, and has been a citizen of Indiana ever since. His activities have been confined chiefly to the southern portions of the State, though he was for twelve years an instructor of ministers in DePauw University at Greencastle, and for four years a presiding elder or superintendent of a Methodist district centering in Indianapolis. He has been a Methodist preacher, engaged consecutively in the itinerancy, for forty-eight years, and for the last five has been the senior pastor in his conference of three hundred and thirty-nine members.

Dr. Poucher is a graduate of Indiana Asbury (now DePauw) University, and of Garrett Biblical Institute (theological school) at Evanston, Illinois. The latter institution unsolicited conferred on him the degree of doctor of divinity. He was married to Miss Annie M. Cross, a Methodist preacher's daughter and a writer of genius, who bore eight children, of whom seven completed a collegiate course, and with their marital alliances represent sixty-three years of under- and post-graduate work.

Our contributor has written numerous articles for the leading magazines and periodicals of his own church and for various other theological and secular publications, much appearing as editorial matter. He was a contributor to the *Biblical Encyclopaedia* issued in this country under supervision of the Scribners. With a taste for historical research and reminiscence he has issued several pamphlets pertaining to places and institutions in Indiana. At present he is the Methodist pastor in Orleans.

—EDITOR.]

In 1841 William Wattam and his newly-wedded wife, Mary Wright, emigrated from Lincolnshire, England, and landed at New Orleans. They engaged passage on a steamboat coming up the Mississippi and turning into the Ohio, and stopped at the foot of the Falls on the Indiana side, as far as the craft could go. There were a few other English people in New Albany, but they were not connected by family or local ties. Four or five years later one of Wattam's brothers followed, and soon after arrival joined the United States cavalry forces in the war with Mexico. He returned safe and sound, and continued to reside in Indiana till his death, leaving several descendants who are good citizens. In

1850 three other brothers and three sisters with their families and the aged mother sailed from England, and joined the colony. A year later, 1851, the remaining sister and her husband and son, with ten or fifteen other persons, reached New Albany, and most of them began to cultivate the rich river bottoms just below the city. Various other parties from the same part of England from time to time were attracted to the garden spot which soon became famous for its productiveness and beauty.

Heretofore the land had been occupied chiefly by renters, and there was one tract of over eight hundred acres made inalienable by the owner, a condition that was always considered unfavorable to the highest development of the community. The original tenants, besides entertaining territorial prejudice against the British, did not accord a hearty welcome to the new comers who intstituted methods of farming which required severe manual toil, distasteful for various reasons, but some did not disdain to profit by the example of the colonists who were very successful in raising crops that brought handsome prices. The products were chiefly potatoes, cabbage and other marketable vegetables sold mostly at wholesale for the southern trade.

Among the native landholders was Thomas H. Collins, who managed his farm on principles scientific and theoretic. On his tract about one mile below town he employed many laborers at high cost. He became famous throughout the country, commanding newspaper notice from afar, but unfortunately his expenses exceeded his income, and he was forced to move on cheaper land in a back county, and finally was reduced to keeping a street-corner fruit stand in Louisville. Others were more fortunate, and became comparatively wealthy, though a few of the more enterprising deserted the region and settled happily about Charleston, Illinois. Still other of the Americans went further down the Ohio river, not too proud to adopt there the new methods which had proven so remunerative.

The colony was re-enforced by other immigrants coming from time to time as late as 1873, and one about 1887. From that date the population has dwindled and changed in character, and there are not nearly so many inhabitants now as fifty years ago, and very few own the soil they till.

Most of the land was heavily timbered, and as none of the Englishmen were adept with an ax they were compelled to let out

the clearings to native Hoosiers, who felled the trees and fenced the land for the cordwood, which they sold in the city. Systematic drainage equal to any of a more modern period was instituted, and the land soon commanded fabulous prices. Part of the Collins tract sold for over three hundred dollars per acre, and much of the ground even further from town could not be bought at any price. By their methods of intensive culture a crop of one hundred barrels, two hundred and fifty bushels, of early potatoes per acre might be raised and sold at \$1.50 per barrel net or more and placed at a steamboat landing only a few rods distant with a one-horse wagon in half a day. A stand of Drumhead cabbages, three or four thousand to the acre, might follow, and be sold from three to ten cents a head to be shipped in bulk on the New Orleans steamer like the potatoes four or five months before. The land possessed intrinsic value.

The houses were painted and all the outbuildings whitewashed, the premises ornamented with grassy lawns, graceful shrubbery, and brilliant flowers. The farmers could afford to own the finest horses that appeared in New Albany, often harnessed to single carriages or buggies costing in those times \$250 or more. While the river road was not then macadamized, it was comparatively level, and as the gardens were beautiful to behold with a background of the low Knobs half a mile away, and the magnificent river bedecked with majestic steamers on the other side, it was a favorite drive for pleasure-seekers from New Albany and Louisville. It is now a boulevard on which vehicles are constantly in sight. J. B. Norman, editor of the *Ledger*, one of the most influential Democratic politicians of his time in Indiana, fell in an apoplectic fit while on this road, and died before reaching the city. Through the influence of Mr. Collins the Indiana State Fair was held at New Albany in 1859.

The colonists, born almost in sight of John Robinson's Puritan meeting-house where later Wesley, a native of the same county, won such splendid triumphs, were mostly Methodists in their church affiliations, and the community was never racked by sectarian differences or controversies. Wattam, though a common renter at first, in 1849 led his neighbors, chiefly natives, in building a little frame church known as "McKendree," on the highest knoll about two miles down the river. One-half of the site was deeded by Samuel Angel, a somewhat eccentric Englishman, not

related to the main group, on condition that a seat should be reserved in perpetuo for members of a colored family who resided in his house, regardless of the bitter race prejudice then existing. The pulpit was supplied by a circuit-rider, sometimes of indifferent ability, who had five other points, some as far as twelve miles away. He received \$100 a year for one visit in three weeks. Englishmen, who had been accustomed to two sterling sermons on a Sabbath in the old country hungered for richer spiritual food in greater abundance, and it was not long before one of the preachers was induced to live in the neighborhood. Then a little pastoral charge was constituted with "McKendree" as the center where a preaching service was held every Sunday morning by a minister who on finishing his term was appointed a presiding elder. No ordinary talent could satisfy these farmers, who were systematic readers of the Bible and church literature. One preacher, who soon after filled the pulpits of the strongest churches in Indianapolis and Baltimore, relates that being pressed for time in preparation, he followed a sermon outline appearing in small print in the *Ladies' Repository*, a Methodist monthly, but he soon observed a knowing smile on the faces of some of his hearers, and abashed at being detected, he went off without his dinner, vowing that if the Lord would forgive him this time he never would repeat the offense.

Another pastor was taken in the middle of the conference year to occupy the pulpit of the best church in the city. The religious society had gained such enviable eminence that even a college paper in its alumni notes reported one of the most popular graduates as "preaching for the English farmers below New Albany." They considered themselves in a position to ask for a representative preacher from the General Conference delegates at Indianapolis to come and spend a Sunday with them. They had been used to listening to the most distinguished preachers, like Robert Newton, four times president of the Wesleyan Conference in England. There were scarcely ever more than fifty members in the class, but they promptly paid their pastor five hundred dollars a year for an afternoon service later on. Many prominent city Methodists, preachers and laymen, would attend the meetings, and after a bountiful repast would spend the rest of the day in thoughtful and animated discussions on theology. The members have been known to contribute an average of three dollars each for mis-

sions. The little church at one time or another produced seven itinerant preachers of whom some became famous, and all were useful.

The social decline began late in the sixties, though it was scarcely perceptible for eight or ten years, but the greatest slump occurred after the three devastating floods in uninterrupted succession in 1882, 1883, and 1884. Many of the buildings were swept off by the raging waters, and the top surface of the soil to a considerable depth was washed away. Quite a number of the earlier-settlers had died, or moved in old age to the city or elsewhere, and the remaining residents were spiritless and without competent leadership. Very few of the descendants of the colonists remain on the soil, though some of the land has not changed ownership for seventy years. It has been said that the first generation of aliens born in America do not show the thrift and self-initiative of their parents, but it would be difficult for any to maintain just such a standard of high and successful living as was exhibited in that English colony.

A most remarkable phenomenon in connection with this social movement is the startling decrease in the commercial value of the land. While it is almost as fertile as formerly, it is not nearly so productive, partly because insect pests have multiplied, but chiefly from a change in the personnel of the occupants and their standards of agriculture. Improvements on the farms have gone to rack. The New Orleans market was destroyed in the decay of river navigation, and the monopoly once enjoyed for garden commodities ended with the expansion of the railway system. While land in almost all other parts of the country has constantly advanced in price, this has steadily gone down so that the salable value has been reduced to one-third or even one-fifth of its former figures. It is an unnatural condition that will certainly change for the better.

## Vevay and Switzerland County

BY JULIA LECLERC KNOX, Principal of the High School, Vevay,  
Indiana

Down in the southeastern corner of Indiana, crowded to the banks of the Ohio by her larger and more self-assertive sister counties, lies modest little Switzerland. As her name suggests, she was settled by emigrants from the tiny Alpine republic, who showed their loyalty to the mother country by naming the county Switzerland and the county seat Vevay. The descendants of these early pioneers who have visited the birth place of their fathers, say the resemblance between our Vevay and her transatlantic namesake does not stop with the name.

The situation of Switzerland county so near the states of Ohio and Kentucky makes her much more cosmopolitan than the counties of the northern and central parts of the state. And to visit one of these counties where everyone is a "Hoosier" is a strange experience for a citizen of Switzerland county.

Engrafted on the population descending from the original Swiss settlers in Vevay are many emigrants from the sister state across the Ohio. These children of the "dark and bloody ground" impart a peculiar southern flavor to the civilization of their adopted home. The posterity of the old Scotch settlers and many Germans, who have come in later years to pool their issues with those of the other inhabitants, make up the present census reports of Vevay, the oldest town in the county.

The site selected by the founders is a good one; it is that half way between the market centers of Cincinnati and Louisville, and, as it has no railroads, Vevay is almost entirely dependent on the river for transportation. There runs a legend that one day she will have a railroad, but some of the inhabitants prefer that this shall never be realized, fearing that it will take too much from the quaint exclusiveness and quiet beauty of the place. It is better to go and come on a roll of wishing carpet, on the imagination, or the Sanders stage coach, if the river fails in its duty, as it often does in the dry summer or the cold winter. The people

booked on our lecture courses find difficulties in getting here and getting away, equal to those that "hedge a king." But the difficulties of reaching the place now are as nothing to those experienced by the pioneers who first came. The Dufours, the Morerods, the Bettens, the Siebenthals—seventeen souls in all—left their Swiss home to seek new fields across the sea in 1801. After a boisterous voyage of one hundred days, they landed at Norfolk, Virginia. From there they crossed the Allegheny Mountains in wagons to Pittsburg; the women and children and others who were unable to walk were weighed and brought by freight by the hundred pounds. From Pittsburg they came down the Ohio.

The history of the early settlement of Vevay is largely the history of the Dufour family, who came from the Commune of Chatelard District of Vevay, Canton of Leman (afterwards de Vaud) in Helvetie or Switzerland. John James Dufour, the eldest, came first, in 1796, prospecting. Though literally handicapped—he had no right hand—he made an extensive trip through the West, chiefly on horseback, looking for a site for a vineyard.

He finally located for a short time in the Big Bend of the Kentucky River, where, as agent for the Vineyard Company, he purchased land and vines and established what is called the First Vineyard. After a while he sent for his brothers and sisters, and soon after their coming, in 1801, the Vineyard Company was dissolved, and they left Kentucky and came to the present site of Vevay. As they landed the indomitable John James sprang ashore and seizing an axe, cried, "I will cut down the first tree!" and ascending the bank felled a sapling near what is now known as the old Norisez home. They purchased the land—four sections from Congress at two dollars an acre on a twelve years' credit at six per cent—and called it, at first, New Switzerland.

The Dufour brothers and sisters married into other families that came as they did, or soon after, and quite a little community sprang up with John James Dufour and his brother, John Francis, as leaders. It was rather a difficult undertaking—this pioneer life—for those born and reared in a country dating its civilization back to the time of the Cæsars, and who knew nothing about the use of the axe as the pioneer knows it. They had been accustomed to all the necessities and many luxuries, and too much can not be said of the courage and fortitude with which they faced their hardships and rose to their occasions that they might

leave to us the heritage we now enjoy. Not only the forefathers, but even more the foremothers, come in for their share of our gratitude and veneration.

As Mrs. Harnaday said in the last Fourth District Club Meet: "They boosted untiringly, and remained patiently in the background, mending the trousers and putting up with the general crankiness of the old boys." To them we owe much, perhaps most, for the hardships of the pioneer woman were twice as hard to bear as those of the pioneer man.

Indian scares often arose, but that was about as far as they ever went, as it is said only two were ever murdered in Switzerland county by the Indians. Depredations on the west and northwest were often committed, so sentries were posted and the settlers met at one house to pass the night. In 1812, Elisha Golay, captain of militia, was ordered to form a company by voluntary enlistment and "proceed to the frontier and range east and west along the north line of Jefferson county as far as the settlements extended." He built a blockhouse to accommodate from forty to sixty men within the limits of the county. This was known for many years as Buchanan's Station.

Wolves were another menace, doing great damage to hogs and calves. The legislature of the territory passed an act allowing a bounty, the munificent sum of one dollar, for each wolf scalp to the one who could prove his prowess to the satisfaction of the county court. Deer and bear were plentiful. Wild turkeys were so numerous that they crowded the hogs away from their feed and the pioneer had to knock them down with clubs. There was no danger of starving for lack of wild meat.

Later on, in 1823-24, there was a sort of squirrel pest; a great portion of the corn crop was destroyed and parties were formed to hunt the little animal. In one hunting expedition of twenty-eight men, one thousand and seven were killed, although the weather was unfavorable. Another party brought in three thousand one hundred and sixty-six. In all, thirteen thousand and six squirrels were recorded killed at this time. The county seemed almost another Bishop Hatto tower, with squirrels instead of rats for antagonists.

In spite of it all the settlement grew and prospered. The people had depended at first chiefly on their vineyards, and, it is said, the quality of their wine was considered by judges, superior

to the claret of Bordeaux. In the old Morerod home, there are still two old kegs in the wine cellars; one is of seven hundred gallon capacity, the other five hundred. A specimen of their wine was taken to Washington, D. C., by John Francis Dufour and presented to a committee of Congress by Thomas Jefferson. It was no easy matter—that trip. John Francis made it on horseback, leading a horse with a pack saddle across which two five-gallon kegs containing the wine, were placed. To this day it is thought that vines dressed and trimmed according to the Swiss methods, bear best.

Orchards were planted and were soon in a thrifty condition. Wheat, hemp, Indian corn, potatoes and flax were raised. Straw was saved in a neat manner and used in making hats. One of the Dufour sisters brought to America a peculiar manner of weaving this straw into hats and the art was very valuable. The hats were sold in Cincinnati and to flatboat traders going to the Mississippi country.

Flatboating was much depended on and many Switzerland county fortunes of today were based on this old industry. Members made it a regular business to load a flatboat with provisions, sell them and also the boat and return home from the "lower country," by steamer. In his *Last of the Flatboats*, George Cary Eggleston has pictured all this very clearly and has even used local names and personalities so plainly as to be easily recognized by the oldest people of the community and indeed many of the characters are still living.

An account written in 1876 makes these very interesting statements: "Farm products were at first very low as compared with present-day prices. Eggs which now sell readily for from ten to twenty-five cents per dozen, were then only from one to one and a half cent per dozen; butter, now twenty-five, was then only six and one-fourth cents; potatoes from six and one-fourth cents to twelve and one-half cents per bushel, and good country-cured hams could be purchased at from two to two and one-half cents per pound." (Verily, ye good old times!)

Many industries rose and fell from time to time. Saddle and harness making, shoemaking, tanning, clock and watch manufacturing, were some of the early occupations. There was once a nail factory here which cut nails by horse power. They sold for twenty-five cents per pound. George G. Knox was the first cab-

inet maker and many fine old pieces of furniture throughout the county were the work of his hands. He and Dr. John Mendenhall were engaged for some time trying to invent perpetual motion. There was an ox saw-mill and a horse grist-mill after a time, but at first the nearest grist-mill was four miles away on the opposite side of the river and nearly every family had to depend on a hand mill. There was also a carding machine, and for a while a cotton gin on a small scale was in operation.

It was customary for families to have shoes and clothing made up at home. The tailor and shoemaker were hired at from eight to ten dollars per week to come to the house and fit out the family. At the close of the war, however, manufacturing interests of Vevay became more developed. In 1865, a furniture factory was established. In 1876, woolen mills were erected. Later, carriage, chair and cigar factories and a planing mill and flour mill run by steam, were brought into being. Now alas, nothing of all this remains except the two last named manufactories.

Until 1810, all mail came from what is now Carrollton, Kentucky. Then it was called Port William, the nearest postoffice. Once in two weeks or at most once a week, the mail arrived. Through the efforts of John Francis Dufour a postoffice was established at Vevay and he served as postmaster until 1835.

In 1813, the town was "laid off." The lots sold at prices varying from twenty-two dollars for the cheapest to ninety-two for the most expensive. At this time the population within the present limits of Switzerland county was about one thousand and was confined chiefly to the immediate vicinity of river and creek bottoms. In two years it had almost doubled. Two years ago the centennial celebration of the founding of Vevay was held and a very successful week's program was carried out. Between six and seven hundred home-comers were in attendance, coming from all parts of the United States.

During the spring of 1814 many buildings were put up in different parts of the town and the population throughout the county increased so much that it became necessary to organize a separate county off the upper end of Jefferson as people from above where Patriot now stands had to go to Madison to transact ordinary county business, and so Switzerland county originated. The privilege of naming, which, being given to John Francis Dufour, what

more than natural that he should christen it for his mother country.

In 1817 it was divided into six townships—Jefferson, Posey, Craig, Cotton, York, and Pleasant. Two creeks, Plum and Indian, flow through Jefferson township (in which Vevay is situated) giving it a good natural drainage and some rich bottom land for farming.

In Pleasant there are two interesting groups of people—one called still “The Scotch settlement” and the other formerly dubbed “the Dutch settlement.” Even yet certain national characteristics are strongly marked in the former. They are both of Presbyterian religion, though of different kinds.

In 1820, Vevay consisted of upward of one hundred log, brick and frame dwelling houses, the former outnumbering all other kinds nearly two to one. There was a brick courthouse, a stone jail, brick market house, printing office, postoffice, an ox saw-mill, two horse grist-mills, three taverns, a seminary of learning, a circulating library, a branch of the State Bank of Indiana, three blacksmith shops, two Free Mason lodges, but no meeting house, although there was much talk of churches being built by both Presbyterians and Methodists. The former was first organized. By popular subscription, amounting to the munificent sum of two hundred and seventy dollars, a church was built in 1828 on the site of the present building. Daniel Dufour contributed the lot with the understanding that if it was ever used for any other purpose that it was to go back to the possession of his heirs.

The Methodist church was organized in 1816; the Baptist in 1833; the Universalist in 1852; the Christian in 1842, and the Catholic in 1854.

In 1817, the first Sabbath School was formed by Mrs. Abner Clarkson. Other efforts were made to make the people be good. There was a most excellent law in relation to the use of profane language. A fine of one dollar was imposed for each oath, but no one could do more than ten dollars' worth of swearing in any one day. It seems that a gentleman from Indian Creek especially fluent in the use of bad language came to town to sell a cow. In the course of the transaction he literally swore away his “dumb critter.” For his profanity was so loud and long that the justice of the peace levied on the innocent animal, which didn't bring enough to wipe out its owner's eloquence.

There was a whipping post, but only two people are on record as having been punished in this way. The crime of both was larceny. Not until 1815, was a jail necessary, although our forefathers were forehanded enough to provide one the year before. The first prisoner, ingenious soul, sawed his way out of the little log affair and a later one set fire to it, made good his escape, and Nero-like, sat on a hill in the back ground and watched it burn. During the first decade, what educational work was done was the private venture of pioneer school masters occupying some room or primitive building in town or deserted cabin in the county. As early as 1810, Lucien Gex taught French only in a log cabin below town. After Vevay was "laid out," a school house of hewed logs, designated by the ambitious title of "the Seminary," was built. Succeeding the few subscription schools which marked the first epoch, district schools, supported from public revenues, supplemented by contributions of material and labor levied as a tax upon citizens, were established. Eggleston's *Hoosier School Master* gives a very true picture of conditions at the time represented. To build the first school house a tax of twenty-five cents on the one hundred dollars was levied. The cost of building and of furnishing was five hundred and thirty-seven dollars and fifty cents. As late as 1845, the contract with the teacher stipulated that "grammar should not be taught." From these humble beginnings, the present fine system and creditable school plant, with Superintendent R. N. Tirey at the head, has been evolved. Vevay has the honor of having been for many years the scene of the untiring efforts in the educational line of Mrs. Julia L. Dumont, whose reputation in pioneer pedagogy is almost national. She must have taught a half century and today we are proud to trace our lineage to her pupils and by some of us it can be done through two or three generations. She was certainly a remarkable woman. The mother of twelve children, she carried on her household work in connection with her school duties. She rocked the cradle, knit, and taught school all at once, and was an authoress of some note for her time. Realizing that a teacher's field was broader than simply "lickin' and larnin'," her moral influence was very great. Edward Eggleston was one of her pupils and always remembered her with affection and respect. The Reverend Hiram Wason and wife were among the early teachers. For thirteen years they labored in Vevay and were greatly beloved. Reverend

Wason was the original of "Reverend Whittaker" of Eggleston's *Roxy*.

A literary society was early organized and lasted until 1829 or 1830. The legislature in 1816 passed an act incorporating it. In connection with it a library was collected and John Francis Dufour procured for it many books through donations in Louisville. The posterity, as one might say of this, is two thriving women's clubs of thirty active members each—"The Eggleston" and "Julia L. Dumont" clubs. Both have State and national federation and are doing good work. The "Julia Dumont" club was organized in 1866, and thus is one of the oldest in the state.

The first newspaper, the *Indiana Register*, was established in 1816 by John Francis Dufour and others. Since that time the publication of at least one weekly newspaper has been a permanent thing. There are now two weekly and one bi-weekly sheets.

The first house was a log cabin 14x20 feet, built by John Francis Dufour on the lot now occupied by the residence of Doctor L. H. Bear. In that house, courts were held for some time and for many years the office of county clerk and also the postoffice were there. The first brick building was the courthouse, completed in 1816, in which year the first circuit court was held. It occupied the site of the present courthouse, which was erected about the close of the Civil War. Shortly after 1816, Lucien Gex built a one-story brick, still standing on Main street east of Mrs. Elizabeth Hall's home.

The first marriage license was issued October 6, 1814, by County Clerk John Francis Dufour to Richard Dumont and Matilda Philips, parents of Judge C. T. Dumont, of Cincinnati.

Vevay is full of the direct descendants of these sturdy pioneers, and many of the old Swiss customs are yet retained. For instance, at the exodus from the old country, the aged grandfather of the Dufours, too decrepit to make the journey with the younger people, knelt on the bank and prayed for the welfare of the voyagers and read the ninetieth psalm. He requested them to meet and read this psalm when it was not possible to have "preaching" and to have it read at the funerals of all the family. To this day this custom of having it read at the funeral is religiously observed by every descendant of the Dufours. This picturesque departure of the Dufours from their native shore reminds one of Robert Weir's "Embarkation."

The old Swiss custom of making a cheese at the birth of a child and saving one half to be eaten at his marriage and the other at his funeral, is no longer observed.

Among the queer wills of these old Swiss is that of Jean Daniel Morerod, the husband of Antoinette Dufour. He requested that he be buried in a plain pine box, the cost of which was not to exceed one dollar and a half, and the money that would otherwise have been spent on his burial was to be invested in the best of wine to be served to the funeral guests. This will is on record at the county courthouse and has always been the subject of comment.

Vevay has a custom peculiar to herself, the origin of which we have been unable to trace, and that is the Mardi Gras celebration of New Year and New Year's eve. The citizens, chiefly the younger and livelier (but often even the older and more dignified join in the sport) masked and dressed in all sorts of grotesque costumes, call from house to house. No one remembers when this began nor how it began.

In the history of Vevay, the celebration of the Fourth of July was well attended to. The enthusiasm which the Revolutionary War engendered in the hearts of the people burst forth annually at the coming of the national holiday. The Swiss all met in a certain grove. The Declaration of Independence was read, a Fourth of July oration was delivered by one of the leading men and then followed a barbecue and dancing which continued until sunset. This custom not long since passed away.

Another long established practice was shooting matches for turkeys at Christmas and New Year. The owner of the turkeys would give notice to the marksmen who wished to take chances in the shooting match, that on a certain day he would have a lot of turkeys put up to be shot, at twelve and one-half or twenty-five cents a shot. The turkeys would be tied by the legs and set off at a distance of one hundred yards. The hunters would take their turns and the one who could hit the turkey became its owner. In this way the man who raised the turkeys realized quite a good price for them, and the successful marksmen got a comparatively cheap fowl. This sort of sport is fully described in Cooper's *Pioneers*.

It must be remembered that Vevay was the home of Edward Eggleston. It is not his birthplace, however, as is erroneously

supposed. He was born on a farm in Craig township, four or five miles from town. The house in which he spent his boyhood still stands in good repair and is proudly pointed out to interested visitors as not only his early home, but also his birthplace, by those who err through lack of information or through the desire to embroider truth with the fancy stitch of fiction. The house is a two-story brick, with a queer little squeezed-up, vine-covered portico over the front door that has a peculiarly secretive air and the whole building looks as if it had an interesting story to tell, but doesn't intend to do so, and it is thus a constant whet to one's curiosity. A queer, tangled old garden adjoins the west side of the house. Here everything seems to grow as it listeth, in an independent way that sets all laws of horticulture at defiance. This enticing old yard always had a peculiar interest of its own for me, even when I was too young to know there was such a man as Eggleston. It looks as if you might run upon all sorts of magic things like the rabbit hole in *Alice in Wonderland* that would lead away to fairyland.

In his *Recollections of Vevay*, Eggleston says:

"When I think of Indiana I always think first of Vevay which is the scene of my earliest and most delightful memories. I spent the first three years and a half of my life there. Then I came back at nine years and lived there two or three years and again at fifteen. I remember sitting at the window of the little front parlor that looks on Main street and watching the children start off to picnics, I couldn't attend on account of ill health. I remember when the Whigs burned Martin Van Buren in effigy in the public square in 1840 before I was three years old. I remember when Governor Poindexter of Mississippi and Governor Metcalf of Kentucky spoke from the platform at the top of the stairs of Knox's Mill in 1844. I recollect the great barbecue in the woods above town when the boys came home from the Mexican war. Alas! some never came.

"These were rude times but they have disappeared. The hearty pioneer life has become the refined life of today, permeated with good taste and quickened with lofty aspirations."

Eggleston always cherished a fondness for his old home and often visited Vevay, as did also his sister and his brother George. They were always accorded a hearty welcome by their old schoolmates, to whom they were always plain "Ed" and "George," and "Laura." The town is redolent with the memories of the characters Eggleston drew in *Roxy*, *Hoosier Schoolmaster*, and *Hoosier School Boy*. The old inhabitants can tell you of the

originals of many of these pen pictures. "Jeems" Philips, the Champion Speller of the Flat Creek district, one of the characters in *Hoosier Schoolmaster*, died little more than a decade ago. The old gentleman greatly enjoyed the distinction he had won through Eggleston as visitors on history trails always made much of him. When *The Hoosier Schoolmaster* was brought to Vevay a few months ago on the "movie" films there were still many who could criticise the truth to life of the production. The character of "Lummy" in *Hoosier School Boy*, is said to have its original in Captain Lum Steleton, a retired river citizen of Vevay. The "house with the Lombardy poplars," where Mark Barnaby took his wife, Roxy, to live, has quite a story-book appearance—a "once upon a time" air. It looks like an old French chalet and is as interesting as a romance itself. It is situated on the outskirts of the town with a chestnut grove adjoining, and it would take nothing less than a dragon with a fiery tail to guard those chestnuts from the village boys then, as now. A winding path leads through an avenue of majestic trees to the broad front door, worn with the marks of many feet that have passed in and out over the sill. Until within recent years, it was occupied by "Uncle Aime" Morerod, the son of Antoinette Dufour Morerod, the sister of John James and John Francis Dufour. "Uncle Aime," as he was popularly called, was born on the day Jackson won the battle of New Orleans. He was a picturesque old figure with a massive head covered with a great mass of iron-gray hair, and a great frame, all the more pitiful in its decrepitude on account of the great contrast between the "now" and the "used to be." After the death of his wife he lived there all alone, save for a servant as old as himself. Like the home of Goldsmith's village preacher, the old house behind the Lombardy poplars was "known to all the vagrant train." It was a refuge for the unfortunate of all classes, and the old man denied himself of many comforts in order to do the deeds of charity in which his heart delighted.

The sister of this interesting old character enjoyed the distinction for many years of being the oldest inhabitant of Switzerland county. She was very ambitious to live to be one hundred and came within only two years or so of doing it. "Aunt Lucy" Detraz (pronounced Da-traw) was born on the site of Vevay in 1806. She was the fifth white child born in that place at a time when only ten or twelve families lived in the locality. She was educated

in Louisville as far as education then went for girls. Always when she didn't want "the little pitchers with big ears" to get the benefit of her remarks, she would break into a perfect cyclone of French, to the mingled awe and amusement of us youngsters. Except the time spent in school at Louisville, she passed her entire life in Vevay and was never in a railway car. A devoted member of the Presbyterian church, she was a zealous reader of the French Bible, and proved by her intelligence that the Bible is the best of classics, as she impressed one as a woman of knowledge and even some culture. It was like living history to talk with her.

She remembered the War of 1812, and loved to tell of her fright on seeing a band of Indians for the first time. Against her mother's commands she followed her to her Uncle Daniel Dufour's and just as her mother got out of sight, Aunt Lucy, looking over her shoulder, saw a band of six Indians coming with guns on their shoulders. The governor of Canada had offered five dollars for every scalp brought in, and as a man near Eagle Creek, in the rear neighborhood, had been recently relieved of his "head piece," the little girl had reason for fright and always pointed out this episode to us as a warning against disobedience. She reached the Uncle's house just before the six warriors and she laughingly related with her French gesticulations how she ran up the ladder to the loft and she and her little cousins, after carefully pulling up the ladder, hid themselves in an empty barrel or two, and ostrich-like, felt themselves unseen when they had covered their faces. The senior members of the family were not at their ease either until the Indians, knowing they were French, said "Friendship" in that language, and seating themselves in a semi-circle on the puncheon floor, smoked the pipe of peace once around and handed it to their host. After that they ate heartily of the corn bread and bacon, which Mr. Dufour brought out and then went quietly on their way. As the Indians were accustomed to regard the French as their friends, they did no harm to the Vevay settlers. They often came, bringing their squaws and papooses for friendly calls.

Aunt Lucy well remembered when it was no uncommon thing for her little brothers and sisters and herself to hear the cry of the panther on the hills as a sort of lullaby at night when they were tucked into their trundle beds. She told of seeing buffalo

come down to the sandbar on the opposite side of the river to drink and how she had once seen a bear come into her father's pigpen, and walking off on its hind feet, carry off a great porker. Her father and the other men hunted deer and wolves in the woods.

In those days one of the main industries of Vevay was the making of straw hats. The men of the family cordelled canoes to Cincinnati, at that time a small village, to exchange the hats for the bare necessities of life. At one time Aunt Lucy's father was offered a lot in the middle of what is now somewhat of a metropolis (indeed the legend runs that it was the lot on which the postoffice now stands) for six straw hats, but he didn't feel he could afford to take the offer as he needed groceries and ready money to pay on his vineyard. Coffee was then seventy-five cents a pound and was measured out a few grains to each member of the family. There were no coffee mills and the grains were pounded in a rag and they often had to relieve their craving for the drink by smelling, mayhap by "chewing the rag." Light bread was not to be thought of and cornmeal was sifted through perforated buckskin.

Aunt Lucy loved to recall the visit of Lafayette to Cincinnati in 1824. The Swiss artillery from Vevay went up to help receive him. Her husband was the chief gunner and she related with pride how he fired the cannon "twenty-eight times in three minutes, lacking one second, and was deaf in one ear ever after;" and how "Lafayette wrote a piece on the paper" and said it was the best time he had ever seen made in any place—the time made by the Swiss gunners of Vevay.

This same cannon, familiarly known as "Old Betts," had quite an interesting history after that, although she fell to the low estate of celebrating political victories and Fourth of Julys. The opposing political parties stole her from each other, sometimes resorting to temporarily burying her to hide her. Finally, after taking off the arm of a political boss, she, one might say, committed suicide, by blowing herself up, not so many years ago.

To return to "Aunt Lucy"—she was present at the birth of Edward Eggleston, or "Eddie" as she called him, and put his first clothes on him. "Toinette," in *Rory*, is Aunt Lucy's daughter, long since deceased. And her queer, rambling low-circled home, with its odd little closets under the stairs, is the house where the

"Reverend Whittaker," in *Roxy*, boarded. The wall-scraper clock mentioned in the same book is still in the same place on the wall. The quaint overhanging back-porch recalls "Toinette" and the minister and their morning conversation. The yard juts out into the sidewalk, but the city council, out of respect for "Aunt Lucy," promised they would never order it changed during her life time, and although she has been dead now a number of years, it is left as it was. The old house is full of surprises, turning off here and there into a room, a closet, or a porch that one doesn't suspect. Most of the doors have the "raise-up-the-latch-and-walk-in" fastenings like the doors of Red Riding Hood's grandmother.

During her lifetime, Aunt Lucy became the possessor of many interesting antiquities—one of them being the first churn in the county. Up to the last she was mentally and physically spry as many thirty years younger. Her hearing was defective, but otherwise she was in full possession of all her faculties, and was a most interesting conversationalist. She, for some time previous to her death, enjoyed her "second sight," as she called it, reading her Bible and doing the most wonderful embroidery and needle work without glasses. There was never the tottery feebleness of old age in her walk until very shortly before she passed away, but her step was unusually firm and elastic.

Another member of this particular branch of this pioneer family was Mrs. Julia Morerod LeClerc, also rather remarkable for her times. Left a widow when her ninth child was yet an infant, she continued for more than sixty years to carry on the business her husband left—that of hotel keeper. She was her own bookkeeper and business manager and yet never forgot to look closely after the welfare of her children and eke her grandchildren. Her hotel was always considered headquarters, without money and without price, for all those who could claim remotest kin. Her continued use of tallow candles after the day of kerosene lamps added quaintness to her house.

A descendant of one of the Dufour brothers was Perrit Dufour, to whom we owe most of the information concerning those early times.

While the history of Vevay is bound up with the Swiss and especially the Dufour family, the first settler in the county of whom we have any record was Heathcote Pickett, who, in 1795, erected a cabin about three miles from Vevay near Plum creek.

Mr. Pickett made the first flatboat in the county, and he made twenty trips to New Orleans. It is said he walked back each time after selling his provisions and his boat.

In 1798, the Cotton and Dickason families came into this section and settled below Vevay on Indian creek. William Cotton lived in a large sycamore tree until his cabin was built. He took an active part in the politics of Indiana and was the first justice of peace, receiving his appointment from General Harrison, then governor of the territory. In 1814, he was made associate judge, and, in 1816, was delegate to the Constitutional Convention which formed the constitution of Indiana. He was a member of the first senate after the state was admitted to the Union.

An interesting group of Scotch—Seventh-Day Baptists—in about 1817, took up their abode on Long Run, a branch back from the river from Vevay. There is now scarcely a family of any importance that can not trace descent from some of these pioneers.

During the centennial anniversary, many interesting relics of these early days were unearthed and put on exhibition. Old hair-cloth chests brought across seas, spinning wheels with stones, as interesting as that of Priscilla's wheel, winding blades, etc., etc.

In spite of the fact that Vevay is off a railroad she has many advantages other cities of her size and situation can not boast. Almost every street is paved with cement; there are waterworks, electric light, two telephone exchanges, furnaced homes, good schools, six churches, and two progressive women's clubs. There are few totally indigent families, and there are automobiles galore. Not to own one is perhaps more of a distinction than to own one. The people travel extensively in every direction and possess a certain amount of culture, not always found in such small places.

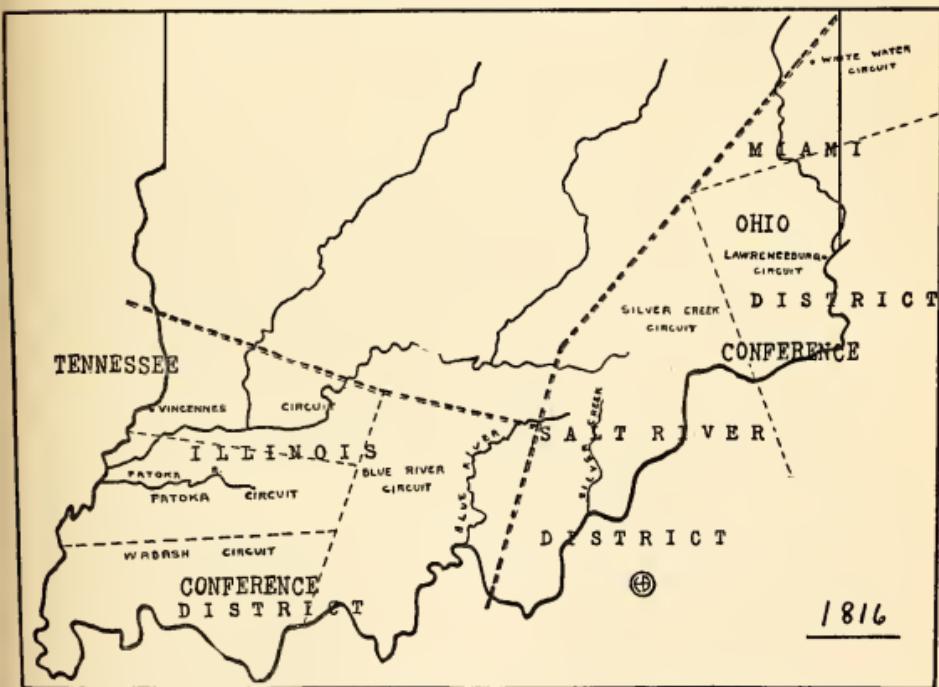
## Indiana Methodism 1816-1832

BY RUTH PRICE, A. M. (DePauw), Baldwin, Kas.

Indiana Methodism, in 1816, was beginning to recover from the effects of the War of 1812, and was entering on a period of increased efficiency and development. In that year, all the settled portion of Indiana was included in the bounds of two conferences, the Ohio and Tennessee. There were only seven circuits within the present state of Indiana, and these were divided between the two conferences thus:

Ohio Conference, Miami District, with two circuits, the White-water and the Lawrenceburg, and the Salt River District, with only one circuit, Silver Creek, in Indiana.

Tennessee Conference, Illinois District, with four circuits, the Wabash, Patoka, Blue River, and Vincennes.<sup>1</sup>



<sup>1</sup> From the *Minutes of Conferences*, Vol. I, 1773-1828. Conferences met in the fall of the year, and the appointments were for parts of two calendar years, thus the appointments in 1816 extended until the fall of 1817.

The religious interests, however, were temporarily subordinated to the political events of the year 1816. In January, 1812, a petition had been drawn up and presented to congress, asking that Indiana be made a State.<sup>2</sup> Nothing was done at this time, and it was not until February, 1815, that a petition from the inhabitants of Indiana Territory, asking for admission into statehood, was brought before the House. During the summer following this petition, there was much agitation throughout all the Territory. Newspapers published accounts of new town sites which were being laid out, and statistics were gathered (though there is doubt as to their authenticity) stating that the population was 68,084.

The Enabling Act had appointed May 13, 1816, as the time for election of delegates to the Constitutional Convention. The only restriction as to the work of the convention, was that the constitution should exclude slavery, the same restriction which had been laid down in the Ordinance of 1787. Methodism was represented in this convention by Hugh Cull, from Wayne county, and Dennis Pennington, of Harrison county.<sup>3</sup> Both were interested in politics as well as religion and exercised a strong influence on the convention.

From this time, there was a rapid increase in the population. The immigration was chiefly from the Carolinas, Tennessee and Kentucky. A number of persons, however, from the Western part of New York and the Northwestern section of Pennsylvania were forced into Indiana because of economic causes, during the early part of 1817. The summer of 1816 had been cold and the supply of grain was consequently limited. Many people floated down the Alleghany and Ohio rivers on rafts and settled in Dearborn, Jennings, Switzerland and Washington counties. These people were interested in politics, and while during the period of territorial government, the offices had usually been filled by Virginians, from 1816-1824, the government was more frequently in the hands of settlers from Pennsylvania. There were several settlements directly from Europe, such as the Swiss at Vevay,

<sup>2</sup> Esarey, *History of Indiana*, Vol. I, Chapter IX.

<sup>3</sup> Hugh Cull was a circuit rider and local preacher in Wayne county. Allen Wiley, in his "Introduction and Progress of Methodism in Southeastern Indiana," published in the *Western Christian Advocate* for 1845, says that he was the first Methodist in Wayne county. Dennis Pennington was not a preacher but was a prominent layman and later served a number of years in the State Legislature, cf. Holliday, *Indiana Methodism*, Chapter I.

and the French at Vincennes, but none became strong enough to exert an active influence in politics.<sup>4</sup>

One noticeable fact in regard to church, and particularly Methodist history in Indiana, is that the first societies, as a general rule, were formed in the country. In many of the towns, the property holders and office seekers were opposed to all forms of religion. In such cases the villages were the unpromising fields, while those who settled in the more remote fields, were more easily influenced by religious teaching. The moral impress of the first settlers remains in many towns to this day. In some cases, the proprietor of the town, the clerk of the court, or the landlord of the tavern gave tone to the morals of the community. In other cases some man of wealth or some family of culture made an impress that was abiding. Brookville, Charlestown, Corydon, Bloomington and Indianapolis were fortunate in this respect, for their early and more influential citizens were usually religious, or recognized that respect was due to religion and that its influence on society was decidedly helpful, and they endeavored to promote its advancement. But we must give credit to some less worthy methods of promulgating religious influence. The bar-room was often the first place thrown open for preaching in a western village, and the landlord would pride himself on maintaining good order during the service.<sup>5</sup> The first sermons preached in Rising Sun and New Albany were in barrooms. A sermon preached by James Conwell, of Laurel, led to the conversion of a tavern keeper, who disposed of his liquors and opened his barroom for preaching, and it remained the permanent place of worship till the erection of the village church.

In 1818 a readjustment was made by which certain sections of Indiana were to be included in the Missouri Conference.<sup>6</sup> This had been organized in 1816, and held its first session in Turkey Hill Settlement in Illinois, in that same year. Its boundaries extended into four State and Territories—Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, and Arkansas. At the first session of the conference there were seven members present and six others were admitted on trial.

At the sessions of the two conferences held in 1818, we find the following adjustment of circuits for Indiana:

<sup>4</sup> Holliday, *Indiana Methodism*, Chapter V.

<sup>5</sup> Holliday, *Indiana Methodism*, p. 99.

<sup>6</sup> Minutes of Conferences, Vol. I, 1773-1828.

Ohio Conference, Lebanon District, contained Whitewater circuit, Lawrenceburg circuit, and Madison circuit.

Missouri Conference, Illinois District, contained Indian Creek, Silver Creek, Blue River, Harrison, Vincennes, Patoka and Pigeon or Little Pigeon circuits.<sup>7</sup>



From 1815-1820 there was a period of increased settlement and of greater development in the sections already settled. Population increased, as well as the value of town property in the older counties. The settlements had been chiefly in the "Wedge," as it was called, but there was a beginning of settlement in the northern part of the State.<sup>8</sup> In 1820 a malarial fever along the

<sup>7</sup>The statistics published in the *Minutes of Conferences*, Vol. I, 1773-1823, show that at the end of the first year after the founding, the members of the Methodist societies in Indiana, belonging to the Missouri Conference, were between 1100-1200 whites and 8 negroes; and for the Ohio Conference, 700-800 whites and 6 negroes.

<sup>8</sup>Treaties had been made with the Indians at various times, freeing the land from their claims and opening it up to settlement by the whites. The Treaty line of 1805 was from a point near the center of Randolph county to the center of Jackson county and the Treaty line of 1809 from Vermillion county to the center of Jackson county, the two diagonal lines forming a wedge-shaped piece

river towns on the lower Wabash checked immigration temporarily, and many left that region and settled further north. The growth of Methodism had kept pace with the growth of population, in spite of the difficulties encountered. When the preachers made their reports in 1817, it was found that they had completely overcome the great loss in members caused by the war with Great Britain in 1812. The year 1817 showed an increase of 849 over the preceding year, and 580 over the number before the war began.<sup>9</sup> In 1810 the population of Indiana was 24,520, and Methodism numbered its members at 755. In 1820, the population had increased to 144,178, and Methodists to 4,410.

Since 1816, the following circuits had been added: Madison, Bloomington, Mt. Sterling, Corydon, and Charlestown.<sup>10</sup> But the years were not all bright nor was the growth a steady one. During the war of 1812, in addition to the loss of membership, occasioned by the war itself, some people lost interest in religious affairs, and the church was embarrassed during the period by the faithlessness of members. One minister lost much of his influence because of his connection with Aaron Burr.

To the many who did remain true, however, and who endured hardships and trials, in order to plant Methodism in this new country, the church of today owes a great debt. The itinerant system was peculiarly adapted to the time and country. It effectually prevented preachers from forming local ties, or creating local prejudices, which might injure their effectiveness. The poverty which accompanied it kept them foot-loose of all worldly things. It might be compared in some ways, to the Jesuit system of missionary work at an earlier time, and certainly it was as effective as the work of the Catholics among the Indians and half-breeds. While the communities to which the itinerant preachers came might be rude and illiterate in some ways, still, there were the germs and possibilities for future growth and development, which had been entirely lacking in the Indian villages of an earlier period.

The preaching of these devout men was a great moral and of territory. It was south of these lines that all the early settlements were made.

<sup>9</sup> Statistics from Holliday, *Indiana Methodism*, p. 51.

<sup>10</sup> The name of Blue River Circuit was merely changed to Charlestown, with the addition of some preaching places Rev. Aaron Wood, *Reminiscences of Indiana*, published in pamphlet form.

educational force. Even when it influenced men's minds chiefly through fear, it prompted them to good conduct, as one of the necessary means of keeping out of the "eternal hell of quenchless fire." While the preachers themselves might be men of little education, they knew thoroughly the messages they were to deliver and they were decidedly in earnest. Their speech might be ungrammatical at times, but their zeal was white hot with the fervor of conviction and their eloquence lost nothing in effectiveness by reason of rudeness in rhetoric or inaccuracy of diction, to the people who listened.

We picture the typical itinerant of that day as a "tall, raw-boned, hollow-eyed man, who dressed according to the Methodist preacher fashion of that day, namely, round-breasted coat, long vest with the corners cut off, short breeches and long stockings, with his hair turned back from about midway between the forehead and the crown, and permitted to grow down to the shoulders."<sup>11</sup> Another prominent minister of the period is described as "a tall, slim, awkward man, with large blue eyes, a large Roman nose, and when he preached the inside of his upper lip protruded ungracefully. He had a long chin which he used in winter time to hold up the blanket he wore for comfort. In the center of the blanket there was a hole cut, well bound, to prevent it from tearing and just large enough to let his small head through. He would then fasten the forepart of the bound hole on his chin, and bid defiance to wind and rain. If his bed or pallet covering were scant, at quarterly meeting, his blanket answered him another valuable purpose, as additional covering. Why pallets at quarterly meeting? There were few churches in those days, but quarterly meetings were in private houses, which were usually crowded by strangers from a distance. When the time for repose arrived, all the beds were surrendered to the women, and the men would pile down on the floor with their feet to the fire, with a few bed covers over and under them and sleep under Heaven's guardian care, and arise in the morning prayerful, thankful and happy."<sup>12</sup>

In traveling large circuits, often very severe hardships were undergone. One circuit rider who started out through the wilderness was overtaken by the darkness when he was a number of

<sup>11</sup> One of the earlier Itinerants as described by Allen Wiley.

<sup>12</sup> Samuel Parker is described thus by Allen Wiley in his "Introduction and Progress of Methodism in Southeastern Indiana" in the *Western Christian Advocate*, 1845.

miles from any house. He had stopped earlier in the day to feed his horse at a lonely cabin in the woods, and fearing that he should have to spend the night in the woods, he had begged some corn dodger for himself. When night came on he held his horse and allowed her to graze for a time, and then placing himself between the projecting roots of a large elm tree, with the bridle wrapped around his wrist lest the horse escape, and wander off into the woods, he slept peacefully.<sup>13</sup>

George Locke was at one time the presiding elder of the Wabash District. At that time, the district extended from Shawneetown on the Ohio River up the Wabash on both sides, to a point above Terre Haute some 20 or 30 miles, embracing a territory in Indiana and Illinois of at least a hundred miles from east to west by two hundred miles from north to south. He traveled this district for four years, receiving much of the time scarcely enough to pay his traveling expenses. At one time during an especially severe winter, Mr. Locke was returning home after an absence of several weeks. When he reached the Wabash river he found it gorged with ice. He and another traveler waited at the home of the ferryman three days for a change in the weather or in the condition of the ice, but as none came and they were anxious to proceed on their journey, they resolved to break a channel through the ice for the ferryboat. They had almost accomplished their undertaking, when through an accident, Mr. Locke was thrown from the bow of the boat, where he was standing, into the river. After he was rescued he insisted on completing the work and crossing the river, and thoroughly drenched and chilled as he was, he mounted his horse and rode ten miles to the next house. When he reached there, he was frozen to the saddle and speechless. The horse stopped of its own accord, and the family, coming to the door and perceiving his condition, lifted him down from his horse and cared for him kindly, until after a day or two, he was able to resume his journey.<sup>14</sup>

The itinerants, on horseback, threaded their way from one

<sup>13</sup> Allen Wiley thus described an experience of his own in his "Introduction and Progress of Methodism in Southeastern Indiana" in the *Western Christian Advocate*, 1846.

<sup>14</sup> George Locke had been transferred to the Illinois Conference from Kentucky in 1825. He served on the Corydon and Charlestown Circuits and then as Charles Holliday was elected by the General Conference as agent for the Book Concern at Cincinnati. Locke was appointed to fill his place on the Wabash District in 1828.

settlement to another and from block-house to block-house, over unimproved roads, with few ferries, and no bridges across the streams, carrying a rifle to protect themselves from the Indians. Such heroism naturally endeared the pioneer preacher to his people, and their respect for his courage and daring made it easier for him to appeal to them in the name of Christ.

One minister gives these facts as to his expenses. "I had a wife and seven children and my entire receipts for house rent, fuel and table expenses amounted this year to \$76. If there were a married and single preacher on one circuit, the collections were divided into three parts and the married man received two parts, and the single man one. Or if one preacher had ten children and the other none, they both shared equally, if they were married men."<sup>15</sup>

In 1825, Joseph Tarkington was appointed to the Rushville Circuit.<sup>16</sup> At that time it included four counties in the fork of the Ohio and Wabash rivers. For living expenses, during the year, he received only fourteen dollars, partly in money and partly clothing. His senior partner, James Garner, received twenty-eight dollars for the support of himself, his wife, and several children.

A story is told of the first Methodist settlement in Vigo county. Jacob Turman was the first preacher to visit that county, preaching at the cabin of John Dickson, near Rogers Spring. He organized a class with William Winters as class leader. At one time a company of hostile Indians came near the house, with the intention of murdering the congregation, but as they drew nearer they heard the people singing, and such was the influence of the music on them, that they quietly withdrew. They reported to an interpreter, at a treaty, signed not long afterward, that they retired out of veneration for the "Great Spirit."<sup>17</sup>

Bishop Soule, with forty or fifty preachers was at one time traveling on the mail boat, the "General Pike," bound from Louisville to Cincinnati, on the Ohio River. The Fall Races had just closed at Louisville, and a number of gamblers were on the boat. They immediately took possession of the gentlemen's cabin, which was soon lined with card tables, and plentifully supplied with liquors; and there began a scene of drunkenness and profanity

<sup>15</sup> Allen Wiley speaks of himself in his "Introduction and Progress of Methodism in Southeastern Indiana," *Western Christian Advocate*, 1846.

<sup>16</sup> *Western Christian Advocate*, September 25, 1846; Allen Wiley's articles.

<sup>17</sup> Holliday, *Indiana Methodism*, p. 80.

that was remarkable for a steamboat, even in that day. The Bishop arose and walked from one end of the cabin to the other. It was a case where open reproof might have caused strife and perhaps led to serious results. Speaking in a loud voice, that all the preachers might hear, the Bishop said, "Brethren can not we sing, too." The preachers gathered together in a group and began to sing:

Jesus, the name high over all,  
In earth or sea or sky,  
Angels and men before it fall  
And devils fear and fly.

The gamblers paused and listened and one by one began to retire to their staterooms or go out on deck, and by the time the preachers had sung two or three hymns, all the card tables had disappeared, and during the afternoon and evening the boat was quiet, and there was no confusion of any kind.<sup>18</sup>

We have traced the changes in the organization of conferences from the Western Conference, which included Indiana, down through the formation of the Ohio, Tennessee, and the Missouri Conference, which had included the circuits of Indiana within its bounds since 1818.<sup>19</sup> In 1824, there came a third step; when the General Conference, in May of that year, divided the Missouri Conference, and placed the States of Illinois and Indiana in what they termed the Illinois Conference. The time and place of the session of 1824 of the Missouri Conference had been fixed, six months before the General Conference met, and as the time was short, it was most natural that for the first year, the two conferences should hold their sessions at the same time and place. Therefore, in October of the year 1824, three Bishops, McKendree, Roberts and Soule, were present at this joint session of the conferences held at Looking Glass Prairie, Missouri. The following year, however, the two were permanently separated, and new Illinois Conference, taken largely from the old Missouri Conference, with a few minor additions, met at Charlestown, Indiana, in August, 1825. The year started with an increase of six new circuits over the year before, Rushville, Salem, Paoli, Boonville, Vermillion, and Mt. Vernon. Blue River and Mt. Sterling were

<sup>18</sup> Holliday, *Indiana Methodism*, pp. 118, 119.

<sup>19</sup> Rev. H. N. Herrick of the North Indiana Conference made some compilations of the Indiana Conferences and this is founded on the information contained therein.

no longer counted, thus making a net increase of four circuits over the preceding year—a total of 19 in all in Indiana. Between 1818 and 1825 these circuits had been added at various times. Corydon, Bloomington, Connersville and Indianapolis.<sup>20</sup> All of these were in the Madison and Indiana Districts except Mt. Vernon in the Illinois District and this was the only circuit that district had in Indiana. As the districts sometimes crossed State lines, we may conclude that the circuits also did, when the adjoining territory was in the same conference.

The decade 1820-1830 was a noteworthy one in many ways. The capital of the state had been changed from Corydon to Indianapolis and following the surveying of the town and the advertising, by its promoters, there came a period of renewed immigration, not only to Indianapolis, but to all the central parts of the State. It was customary for the founders to offer a free lot to the first physician, and the first three or four carpenters who erected houses. Many new towns were laid out along the Ohio, especially in the bends of the river. Because of the very poor transportation facilities, an interest was now being taken in schemes for internal improvement. The earliest, was the building of State roads. Then came the subject of a National road. All these improvements had their reaction on church development. The early circuits were so large and the settlements so scattered and remote from each other that improvements in transportation made it far easier to go from place to place, and benefited not only the minister, but the people who had to travel long distances to hear him.<sup>21</sup> Since the itinerant preacher could come only infrequently, it was necessary to have services whenever he appeared and it was the habit of preachers to be ready for services six or seven days a week. Preaching appointments were for 12 o'clock on all days except the Sabbath. The reasons for this are not definitely known, unless it was because the rides were long and the people had no clocks or watches. But the lines of the land surveyed by the government ran north and south, and everyone could tell on a clear day when it was noon.

The cabin homes of the settlers were the only churches, and

<sup>20</sup> From the *Minutes of the Conferences, 1773-1823*. Though the names of the circuits are given in the minutes, no definite boundaries are mentioned, either of districts or conferences, and maps illustrating them are thus, of necessity, inaccurate.

<sup>21</sup> *Western Christian Advocate*, October 20, 1846; articles by Allen Wiley.

splint-bottomed chairs the only pulpits. The founders of Methodism in Indiana have been criticized for their lack of foresight in taking little or no thought for the accumulation of property for the church. Eligible sites could have been had for the asking, and yet the earlier meeting houses were built for the accommodation of those who were then members of the society with little or no reference to the permanent centers of population. Consequently, when the tendency came toward town development, it was found that many of the churches were wrongly located, and as the country became older and the demand for Sabbath preaching compelled the discontinuance of week-day appointments, many of the churches ceased to be occupied.<sup>22</sup> They were built too close together for Sabbath appointments, and yet it was difficult to unite the small country charges into a common center for the erection of a larger church.

During the period there was a change in church architecture as well. In the earliest stage, the churches, like the homes of the settlers, were made of logs. Later, the houses of worship were plain frame or brick buildings without steeples or bells. Later still there came a period when the Methodists invested as much money in church building as the members of any denomination. Changes were made in customs also, and where formerly the sexes had been separated, this practice was discontinued and pews were rented in some instances.

The unusual or seemingly supernatural always arouses interest, and some of the events of the year 1831 were looked upon with curiosity by the outsiders.<sup>23</sup> A camp meeting was held on the Wayne Circuit in the summer of that year. During the meeting many were converted, and some would begin to laugh and would continue doing so for hours. After the laughing commenced it seemed practically impossible to stop it. Opinion was so divided on the matter that the minister preached and advised concerning it from the pulpit, suggesting that those who laughed "should not invite the exercise," and those who scoffed "should not doubt the sincerity of their brethren, for they could not help seeing that the thing was involuntary when once commenced." One man was almost thrown into the "jerks" of a former day by

<sup>22</sup> Holliday, *Indiana Methodism*, p. 155.

<sup>23</sup> *Western Christian Advocate*, October 9, 1846. Allen Wiley's articles on Indiana Methodism.

resisting the laughing symptoms. It was told that a woman in Kentucky laughed all day and all night after she was converted.<sup>24</sup> A writer of the period who saw some of the exhibitions thus naively discusses it: "I neither approve nor condemn this mysterious thing. Doubtless Heaven had some purpose to accomplish in sending or permitting the exercise, but what that purpose was I know not, unless it was to convince skeptics that there is an invisible agency which acts on the human mind and by that means on human nerves and tendons." After a short time the whole affair subsided, but for a period it created much excitement in certain parts of Indiana.

At the time of the second session of the Illinois Conference (the first in Indiana, however), in the list of appointments there were two stations, an innovation for this section of the country. These read: "Madison Station—Samuel Bassett; Salem Station—William Shaubs." Lawrenceburg and Indianapolis were made stations in 1827 and 1828.<sup>25</sup> When Indianapolis was changed from a circuit to a station the name of Fall Creek appears in the list of appointments for the first time—including all the old preaching places of the Indianapolis circuit except the city itself. These may be given as typical of the circuits of that period. They are as follows: In Marion county, Headley's McLaughlin's and La Master's; in Madison county, Pendleton, Shetterley's and Smith's; in Hamilton county, Danville, Wilson's and Claypool's; in Hendricks and Morgan counties, Matlock's, Barlow's, Booker's, Martinsville, Culton's and Ladd's; Hough's in Johnson county, and Ray's and Rector's in Shelby county. When Indianapolis was made a station it is possible that some other preaching places were added to the circuit. By some people, the departure from the circuit system was looked upon as the beginning of the end of itinerancy in the Methodist Episcopal Church. One minister of the period characterized it as a "serious mistake."<sup>26</sup>

The period between 1825-1830 is noticeable for the changes and readjustments made in size and location and names of circuits. The conference of 1827 divided the old Whitewater Circuit, and the northern part was called "Wayne," with Stephen R.

<sup>24</sup> Allen Wiley, in the *Western Christian Advocate*, 1846.

<sup>25</sup> The nearest date possible to obtain is for 1825, three years before Indianapolis was made a station, but it is not probable that many changes were made in that period. The foundation for this is in Dr. Herrick's manuscript.

<sup>26</sup> Rev. W. C. Smith, *Indiana Miscellany*, 1866.

Beggs and William Evans as the preachers.<sup>27</sup> The following year Beggs was sent to Crawfordsville Circuit, and during the year organized a class in Lafayette consisting of twenty members. The Crawfordsville Circuit in this year had the following preaching places and in the order named: Crawfordsville, Ft. Wayne, Logansport, Delphi, Lafayette, Attica, Portland, Covington and back to Crawfordsville again. The subordinate and intermediate preaching places, however, outnumbered the principal ones, so that the minister had to preach from five to seven times each week. Later Beggs was sent to Bloomington, "a four weeks' circuit." It is an interesting fact that the circuits were often classified, according to the length of time which was required to cover the ground, and preach once in each place appointed. Thus we hear of "four weeks' circuits"—and those of three, and two weeks. Those of four weeks seem to have been the largest (at this period).

Between the years 1825-1830 the tide of immigration was constantly extending northward, and the church kept pace with the growth of the population; for the majority of the charges, added from time to time, were in the northern section of the State.<sup>28</sup> The third session of the Illinois Conference was held in Bloomington, Indiana, in 1826. At this time there were three districts in Indiana, Madison, Charlestown and Wabash. A total membership of 10,840 was reported. The conference did not meet again in Indiana until 1828, when Bishop Roberts presided over its session in Madison. During the previous year the church in Madison had been divided by what was known as the "Radical Controversy." A number of persons had withdrawn from the Methodist Church and had organized a separate church. This new organization lasted for a few years, and gradually most of the adherents drifted back into the mother church. At the session of the conference this year in Madison, the membership had grown to 15,593, an increase in two years of 4,753. Extension revivals were reported all over the conference. In 1829 the following new charges were added: Washington, in Wabash District; Franklin and Vernon in Madison District, and Logansport Mission, which was included in Charlestown District.

In 1830 the Illinois Conference met in Vincennes, Indiana.

<sup>27</sup> From the manuscript of Dr. H. V. Herrick.

<sup>28</sup> Holliday, *Indiana Methodism*, p. 70.

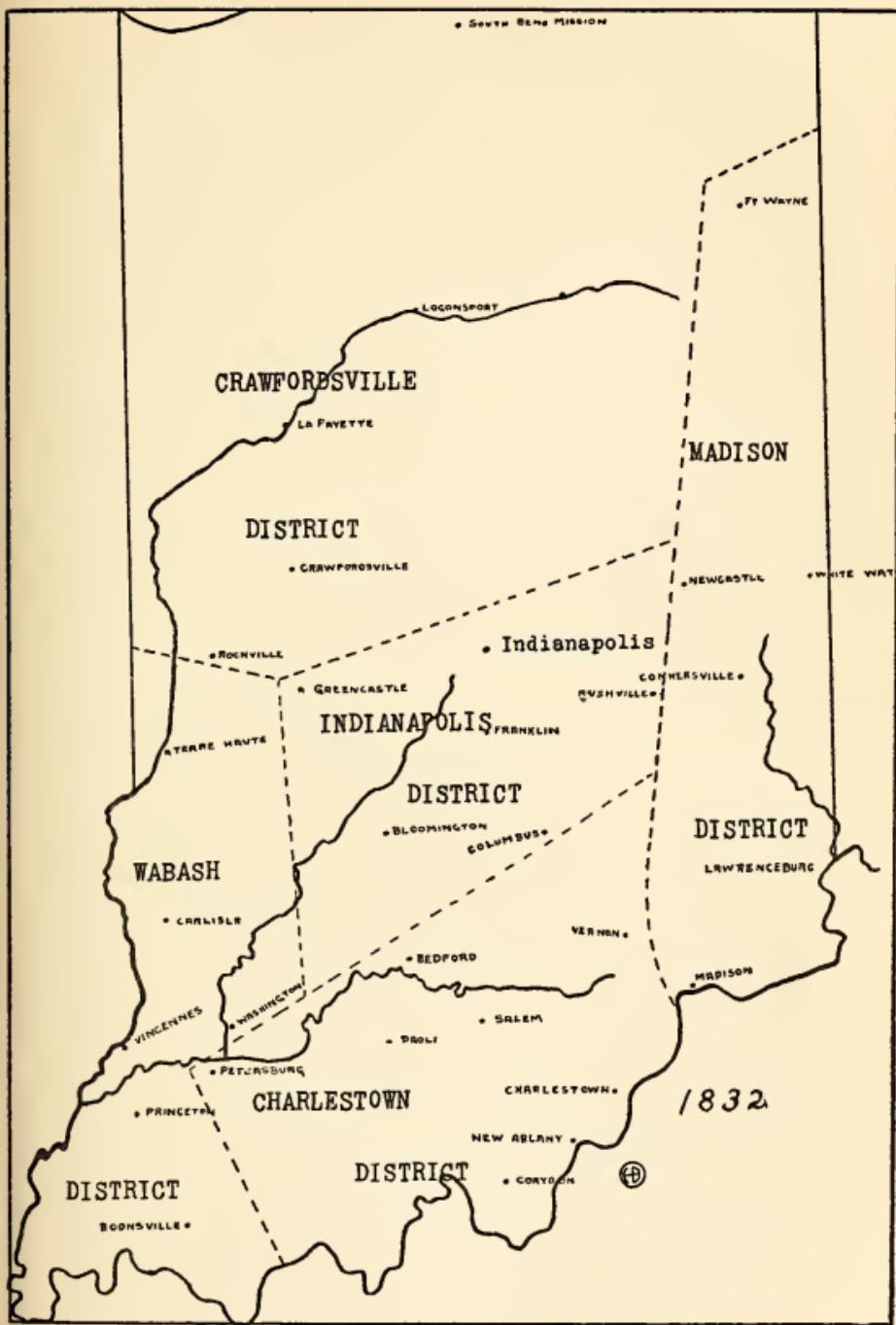
Bishop Roberts was to have presided, but he was detained by sickness, and Samuel H. Thompson took his place. At this time the Indianapolis District was organized and James Armstrong, who had been the first pastor of the Indianapolis station, was made presiding elder.<sup>29</sup> The following appointments were included in the district: Indianapolis, Fall Creek, White Lick, Greencastle, Rockville, Crawfordsville and Logansport. All of these were circuits except Indianapolis. Seventeen young men were admitted on trial, among them Edmund R. Ames. In 1852 he was elected a bishop of the Methodist Church and served in that office for nearly twenty-seven years.

The conference was held in 1831 in the city of Indianapolis, the first time a Methodist Conference ever assembled in the capital. During the eight years when the State of Indiana was included in the Illinois Conference five of its sessions were held in Indiana towns as follows: 1825 at Charlestown, 1826 at Bloomington, 1828 at Madison, 1830 at Vincennes, and 1831 at Indianapolis. During the two quadrenniums 1824-1832 there had been a remarkable progress in the Methodism of Indiana. When the period began there were two districts, eighteen circuits, and 8,917 members. In 1832 there were five districts, forty-one circuits, and 18,853 white members and 182 colored. Methodism had increased to more than twice its original size.<sup>30</sup>

There had been a corresponding growth in the Illinois Conference, and when the General Conference met in the spring of 1832 they decided that for the best interests of both States, a division should be made so that there would be more efficient supervision and a larger opportunity for growth. In consequence, they formed the Indiana Conference, which was to include all the Methodist stations and circuits within the boundaries of the State of Indiana. Some readjustments were made in circuits and districts. Madison, Indianapolis and Charlestown districts were least affected, the circuits in Illinois on the Wabash District were detached and the remainder left on the Wabash District in the Indiana Conference and one new district, to be called Crawfordsville, was added. The general conference had appointed the time and place for the first session of the new conference, and according to the plan the meeting was held at New Albany in the fall of the year 1832.

<sup>29</sup> Dr. H. N. Herrick's manuscript.

<sup>30</sup> *Minutes of Conferences*, Vol. II, 1829-1839.



In the sixteen years since Indiana had become a State many influences had been at work developing the new commonwealth from a pioneer district to its well organized and prosperous condition in 1832. And while it is impossible to apportion exactly the credit where credit is due, still we must give a large share to the ministers who helped to mold public opinion and who preached the virtue of civic righteousness as well as personal morality. Many names could be given of influential men of the period, and honor should be given to the women as well; the wives and mothers of the itinerant ministers who stayed at home and carried on the simpler but no less important duties of the household. To her the preacher owed his inspiration many times, and her firm belief in him and in his work often helped to keep him true to his chosen faith when difficulties were encountered.

A history of the period would not be complete without the mention of three typical men: James Armstrong, Calvin Ruter, and Allen Wiley.<sup>31</sup> James Armstrong was a native of Ireland and was brought to this country by his parents when a child. He was converted and joined the Methodist Church in Philadelphia and received a license to preach. In 1821 he emigrated to Indiana, and in the fall of that year he became a member of the Illinois Conference. He was a man of intense convictions, and while not so eloquent and popular a preacher as some of the men of the period, he was noted for his executive ability, and he was exceedingly successful in gaining members to the church. He was very witty and used his wit to great advantage in confounding self-conceited skeptics and those who opposed religion. He was a presiding elder for most of the time from 1824 to his death in 1834, and the hardships of that work undoubtedly shortened his life.

Calvin Ruter entered the Ohio Conference in 1818 and was immediately transferred to the Illinois Conference as one of the group of volunteers who were sent from the Ohio Conference to the new State of Indiana. He entered heartily into his itinerant duties and so applied himself that it was not long until his health suffered from the strain. Several times he was forced to take a supernumerary relation, but with returning strength he re-entered the ranks and carried on his work. He was interested in denominational education, and was one of the projectors and founders of Indiana Asbury University.

<sup>31</sup> Allen Wiley, and Holliday's *Indiana Methodism*.

Allen Wiley has been mentioned before as being closely identified with Indiana Methodism. He was a man of literary achievements, especially remarkable for the period in which he lived. He was a student of Latin and Greek, and was recognized as a profound theologian. As a minister he was noted for preaching lengthy sermons, but he always received an attentive hearing because of his fervor and conviction. He was interested in education, and took an active part in the support of Indiana Asbury University in its early days. To him we owe much of our information concerning this period, for he compiled and wrote a series of articles for the *Western Christian Advocate* in 1846.

The period closing in 1832 had splendid prospects for the future—a new conference organized in Indiana; peace over the country; internal improvements progressing and an era of general material prosperity. Indiana was not an exception to the general rule that economic conditions affected religious ones, and the growth and development of Indiana Methodism in the years 1816-1832 owed much to the political "Era of Good Feeling."

# The Centennial Pageant for Indiana; Suggestions for Its Performance

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[The writer has tried to avoid what seems obviously plain to him, the vagueness and indefiniteness of much that has been written on the pageant. Especially has the effort been made in this article to say something that may be of help to the workers in the Indiana Centennial of 1916.\*—Ed.]

## I. THE PAGEANT<sup>1</sup>

**Definition and Aims of the Modern Pageant**—According to Ralph Davol, a writer of considerable experience in pageantry, "The true pageant is an idealized community epic, conceived and presented dramatically and simply in the open fields and sunshine by the co-operative effort of creative local townspeople."<sup>2</sup>

Probably a better definition is that of W. C. Langdon, the first president of the American Pageant Association: "The pageant is the drama of the history and life of a community showing how the character of that community as a community has been developed. \* \* \* Or, the pageant is drama in which the place is the hero and the development of the community is the plot."<sup>3</sup>

These two definitions are sufficient to convey the true meaning of the good pageant. Pageantry in short is an expression of the community soul and should not be simply a sensational show or exhibition.

\*For further information on the subject of pageantry in the United States, the reader is referred to the following books and articles: Davol, Ralph, *A Handbook of American Pageantry*, Taunton, Massachusetts, 1914; Bates, Esther Willard and Orr, William, *Pageants and Pageantry*, Chicago and New York, 1912; Withington, Dr. Robert, *A Manual of Pageantry*, Bloomington, 1915; *Current Opinion*, September, 1914; *Review of Reviews*, Vol. 48, 1913; *Pageant and Masque of Saint Louis*, Bulletin No. 2; and *Bulletins* of the Indiana Historical Commission, three of which have already been issued.

<sup>1</sup> For much of this material I am indebted to Mr. Ralph Davol and to Mr. Robert Withington.

<sup>2</sup> Davol, *Handbook of Pageantry*, page 38.

<sup>3</sup> American Pageant Association, *Bulletin* No. 11. (December 1, 1914.)

The distinction should be made at this time between the drama and the pageant. The purpose of the drama is usually the presentation of the career of a single individual, showing clearly and forcibly the rewards of virtue and the wages of sin. Unity of theme is better shown in the drama than in the pageant for the latter takes up the affairs of the community as a whole, showing the development. The drama is an indoor product having unity of time, place and action, but the pageant is or should be an outdoor performance in which the place is the principal character, not the individual.

The primary purpose of the modern pageant is to revive or to maintain the memory of the past and to arouse and promote civic healthfulness; all of this is to be done by the co-operative effort of the entire community. Mr. John A. Gundlack, chairman of the executive committee that arranged the *Pageant and Masque of Saint Louis* in 1914, gave voice to the civic value of pageantry when he said, "Our one great hope that has moved us to assume the responsibilities and labor involved in this great undertaking is that out of the beauty of art \* \* \* will spring an aroused civic pride and love of home that will develop a sense of community obligation and mutual co-operation of such force as will sweep into being a new era in our municipal life."<sup>4</sup> It is claimed that the public spirit aroused by the Saint Louis pageant was responsible for the adopting by that city of a new charter against which the political powers of corruption and graft had marshalled their strength.

A pageant to be a success should be the work of the entire community. The people in the community must want a pageant and it should be conceived and directed by local talent instead of professional showmen for no group of people from the outside can come in and do the thing successfully. The true pageant will socialize the community and give a cohesiveness to its life because it is an entertainment to which all can contribute. Especially, does it appeal to children.

As an educational and moral agent, the pageant has a strong value. To condense a century into two and one-half hours makes a rich lesson in social and political progress. Pageantry is the cleanest and most wholesome form of drama. The community is given an opportunity for self-expression. The criticisms directed against the theater are lacking against it. Ministers, teachers and others

\* *Pageant and Masque of Saint Louis. Bulletin No. 2.*

who oppose the theater from moral conviction, are vitally interested in the cultivation and success of the community drama.

A person who has never gone to school can appreciate this form of drama because it portrays only those things that can be easily understood and that have a permanent value. It is a better teacher than the text book; to the pupils an incentive to work; to the people in general a kind of laboratory of history.

The pageant is possible for a community of any size. The small town furnishes the best soil for its growth; because in it there are fewer distracting influences. Unity of feeling and action are, therefore, more easily acquired. Pageants are, of course, often given in the large cities and many of these have proved to be successful, but it is impossible to bring about the personal responsibility and interest in the large city as in the village or town.

A discussion of the technique of the pageant leads one on to debatable ground more especially because pageantry as an art has not been fully developed. True it is that the processional pageant and the festival have been used from early times, but the community drama is a relatively modern affair. The American pageant is an epic having a theme, an organic unity and an orderly progress of action.

There is no easy way of producing a pageant. The secret of success in this field depends mainly upon three things: 1, to know what to do; 2, to be full of enthusiasm and determination; 3, to have the ability to execute plans.

Much material for the historical episodes may be found in the town and private archives of the locality, and it is much more desirable to get the material from this source than to call on outside aid. Too much care can not be exercised in the historical accuracy of the details of the material to be used. It will be better to omit from the program all community traditions because there is plenty of material which can be substantiated historically without drawing on unreliable sources. One of the values to be derived from the pageant is educational and nothing in the program should defeat this purpose.

**Symbolism and Allegory**—Shall symbolism and allegory be used in the pageant or shall it be wholly realistic and historic? There are two answers to this question. Mr. Davol in speaking of the pageant says, "Pageantry is veneration for past deeds, devotion to present needs and dedication to future ideals,—realism, symbo-

lism and idealism."<sup>5</sup> To depict the future, symbolism must necessarily be employed. Symbolism and allegory in the hands of an artistic and effective pageant-master may be used in an impressive manner in driving home the lesson of the pageant. They are the means of presenting a fitting climax to the central theme of the drama and they afford a strong device for dramatizing the hope of the present. If symbolism be employed, the logical method to be followed is to study the present, to anticipate the future, and to connect the present to the past. To illustrate, a pageant-master finds in the community that there is a large foreign element in the population, which has not yet been completely assimilated. He seizes upon this situation; he looks ahead to the time when they shall be Americans. With this idea in mind, he then thinks of the development of the community through its industries in which the foreigner has played a leading role. His central idea in this instance may easily be patriotic, the Americanizing of the foreigners. Symbolism undoubtedly can be made strongly impressive in a pageant in this community.

On the other hand, there are very good reasons for excluding, entirely, symbolism and allegory. First, there is great doubt whether the future could be so realistically treated as to be worth while. It is very difficult to understand the present and the past, let alone speculating in regard to future events. Second, with a few exceptions, pageant-masters (or those who have to assume the duties of such) are not capable of using symbolism and allegory. A third and probably the greatest objection to the futuristic pageant is that in a great many places it would indeed be difficult to discover any theme upon which there could be unanimity of thought and feeling, and unless this condition exists, the effect is lost. To illustrate, the pageant-master in Indianapolis or Fort Wayne would probably find it very hard to discover some idea or theme for which there is a common interest. One constant danger in the larger towns and cities is that of letting the pageant become the property of one class or section. It would seem, therefore, that although the purpose and lesson which the pageant carries with it are stronger by use of symbolism and allegory, the wisest and safest procedure is, in most instances, to subordinate symbolism and to rely mainly on the history and realism of the past.

Time—There are several reasons why it is better to give the

<sup>5</sup> Davol, *Handbook of Pageantry*, page 141.

pageant in the daytime instead of the night. First, people can come in from the adjoining districts during the day more easily than in the evening. Second, it is less difficult to handle the crowd in the morning or afternoon than during the evening. Third, by giving the performance sometime during the day, a holiday is made necessary and the declaring of such gives the pageant considerable value in the eyes of the public.

A wonderful effect can often be produced in the larger pageants, where the grounds are near the city, by beginning along in the middle of the afternoon and closing in the evening with a scene in which at the proper time the lights of the city may be flashed on.

The time of the year should be selected when it is neither excessively hot nor cold and when there is reasonable assurance of satisfactory weather. The spring and fall months are surely the best time.

**Site**—The pageant should be given out-of-doors. It should take little argument to convince one of this necessity. One of the principal ideas emphasized in the definition of the pageant was that "the place is the hero." The "hero" is not likely to be present in a closely-stuffed hall or even in a magnificent theater. The "hero" will be found near some water site or in some spot with a hill or plateau covered with forests and foliage as a background. The pageant grounds should be selected with the idea of reproducing as easily and naturally as possible the early life of the community and still be in such a position as to admit modern features in the performance.

Having decided that certain grounds present a distinct character of pioneer life, various other factors must be considered before a final selection is made.

**Accessibility**—Secondary only to artistic attractiveness is that of accessibility. The pageant-grounds should be accessible to both participants and the audience in respect of railroads, automobiles, trolley and wagon roads.

**Size of the Ground**—The grounds should be suited in size and proportions to the best rendering of the different episodes of the pageant. Consideration should be made of both the smallest and largest number in any single scene.

**Wind and Sun**—The direction of the prevailing winds should be studied during the week or month when the performance is to

take place; also the direction of the sun's rays at different times during the hours of the performance.

**Acoustics**—Careful attention should be given the acoustics of a location. If music and dialogue are to be effective they must be heard. It is easy enough to make experiments along this line before beginning to build the grandstand by testing the voices of both men and women on two or three different days.

**Landscaping**—The position and number of trees, of bodies of water and the slopes of the ground, if there are any, should be considered in the size of the grounds and the use which can be made of these factors from a dramatic standpoint.

**Entrances and Exits**—Most of the entrances to the grounds should be long, while the exits for the most part should be short. In some episodes, a splendid effect will be produced by having the players approach from a distance in full view of the audience. Entrances and exits should be sufficient in number for the successful working out of the play.

**Gathering Places**—Back of or near the entrances and out of sight of the audience, there should be provided sufficient gathering places for all those who are to take part in the play. There should be costume tents for those who can not put on their costumes at home. Property tents, animal and vehicle inclosures must be arranged for, so that no confusion may arise in the smoothness of presenting the pageant. There should be sanitary toilets.

**Grandstand**—Extreme care must be exercised in planning and constructing the grandstand. It must be large enough to accommodate all those who assemble and it should be so constructed that every person can see each player and hear all that is said. This is no easy task. In most places the minimum size of the audience will probably be not less than two thousand. The material to be used in construction must be of sound quality and it should be built by those and only those who are experienced in this kind of work and who are fully trustworthy. One need but reflect a few moments to recall instances near at hand of the collapse of platforms and grandstands with their frightful toll of injury and death. These bitter experiences of the past should certainly drive home the lesson for the future. By all means the grandstand, no matter by whom built, should be examined by a competent building inspector. The building contractor should only be too glad to have his work tested and approved, and the public will feel safe and secure. The approaches

to the grandstand should be so planned as to admit of free and easy agress and egress. There should be no crowding and pushing either at the beginning or end of the performance. A blue print, in itself an advertisement, of the grandstand should be made two or three months before the day for the performance so that tickets may be put on sale that far in advance of the date set.

**Presentation of the Play**—The day for the performance is a busy one for the pageant-master. The pageant must be presented with action, life and snap. Nothing disconcerts an audience quite so much as to wait an unnecessary length of time between acts or to sit through a performance which drags. The pageant must be well-grouped and must not be too rigid and formal. Mass movements are especially impressive and effect by contrast should often be used.

First impressions go a long way with an audience. The best pageants begin "doubtfully or far away" with a fairy dance of the spirits of nature that precede man's occupation on the earth, or the pageant may open with the cry and war whoop of Indians rushing in from all sides. It would be pretty hard to present a pageant in America and leave the red man out of it. A flash of colors, accompanied by proper music, should accompany the opening of the performance. This is the point: the time to capture the audience is the first two or three minutes of the play. Make them forget their popcorn, candy, and chewing gum. If their attention is riveted on the play during the first few minutes, the rest is easy.

The number and length of the various episodes in the community pageant depend upon the amount and nature of the material to be used. The number of episodes may vary from three to ten and the length of time of each from ten to thirty minutes. The time of the entire performance should not exceed three hours and in most cases it is even better to limit the time to two hours. Mr. Davol thinks that the standard pageant consists of a cast of two hundred people, an audience of two thousand and a time limit of two hours.

The historical episodes are usually linked together by some sort of music or chorus that prepares for the next scene. The music, which should convey the finer aspirations of the pageant, should be of both kinds, vocal and instrumental. Many favorite songs may be used such as "Home Sweet Home," "Auld Lang Syne," "Star Spangled Banner," and "America." The instrumental music, of

which the only satisfactory kind is that of the orchestra, should in part at least be composed for the occasion. The orchestra should be concealed from the audience by means of a screen of green foliage of some kind. The music must be there but, in order to produce the best effect, the source should be invisible.

Some writers hold that the pageant should be without dialogue; that the strongest effects can be produced by choral song, pantomimic action and group-dancing. Others maintain that speech is absolutely essential in a successful presentation of the drama. The best idea seems to be that dialogue should be used, otherwise the historical scenes would be deprived of their educational value. Caution should be exercised by using the dialogue sparingly. It should be terse and distinct and should mark the culmination of some action.

All incidents should end in a grand *finale* when all the various players with the portable properties appear in a procession and disperse in order and decorum. Often the players kneel and chant the last stanza of "America." At other times the pageant is closed by the singing of the "Star Spangled Banner" by the entire cast and audience, accompanied by the orchestra. This usually makes a patriotic and inspiring closing.

**Organization of the Pageant**—The success of a pageant depends to a large degree upon careful organization. After a community has decided to enter into the civic enterprise, a representative committee must begin preparations for the coming event.<sup>6</sup> The committee should be composed of representatives of all the various wholesome and progressive interests of the community as e. g., the different trades, churches, schools, religious, educational, commercial and social bodies in the locality. The committee should begin its work six months or more before the time of the performance.

**The Pageant-master**—The most important part in the pageant-machine is the pageant-master. He, it is, who must direct the whole movement. His tasks are many and arduous. He, alone, will be held chiefly responsible for failure. His authority, therefore, should be supreme. The pageant-master should be selected early by the representative committee and it is better that the committee select someone from the outside so that he may be free always to use his best judgment and not be tied down to any local interests and

<sup>6</sup> In the largest places it, no doubt, is advisable for the committee to form a corporation under the laws of the State because of the amount of expenses of management, and in order to make the corporation as a whole responsible.

prejudices. If conditions are such that some person in the community must act, extreme care should be exercised to choose one who is broad and liberal in his sympathies and interests. His selection should be a unanimous one. The pageant-master must have a strong and inspiring personality because the modern pageant depends to a great extent upon his own personal imagination. He should have a capacity for hard work and an enthusiasm which can be drawn upon for disappointments, indifferences, and discouragements, even opposition at times.

The pageant-master must pick from the mass of historic material that part which is available for his own purpose. His great handicap will be culling out material which he knows would be interesting to present. Some pageant-masters prefer to write the pageant themselves; but others turn this work over to local writers who compose the different episodes. In the latter case, however, he must edit the manuscripts, cut down the episodes to the proper length, and unify the entire composition by means of interludes. He must pick his assistants with great care for they will not only lighten his burdens but insure a greater success for the performance.

**The Historian**—The historian is the right-hand man to the pageant-master, for it is the historian who must know all the details of the community's history. Not only that, but he must be able to criticise and pick those historical events that have been most important in the development of the community. He must see clearly the relation of these events to the history of the State and Nation. In working up the material, he must be accurate in description as well as in narrative. Emphasis should not be laid wholly on political affairs, but the economic, social, religious and educational phases should have a place. Upon the historian, the pageant-master will depend for ideas concerning the dress, manners, customs, and weapons of the early settlers. In getting together the materials, the historian should use whenever possible the exact words of the principal speakers on certain important occasions. A visit to some of the old men of the community will be not only interesting, but invaluable in the collection of materials.

Besides this field of activity, there is still another duty quite as important for the historian. He should urge that a study of the local and State history be made a part of the work of the public and private schools. He should invite co-operation on the part of the pupils in securing new material for often there are locked up in

boxes and trunks or thrown into attics of the pupils' homes, documents of inestimable value. If once an enthusiasm is aroused in the pupils for local history, they will vie with one another in digging up old songs, manuscripts, clothing, tools, guns, and the like.

**Committees**—From the committee representative of all the various religious, commercial, industrial, educational and social organizations, there should be chosen an executive committee of three. These three will have to do most of the work, meeting frequently and reporting to the larger committee once every three or four weeks. This executive body must consist of those individuals who are enthusiastic, industrious, and intelligent. They must be citizens who have a patriotic regard for the past and a vision of better things for the future.

This executive committee may and probably must appoint other committees such as those on grounds, publicity, music, costume, and finance. These committees should not exceed three to each one and should consist of local people. They should be appointed four to six months previous to the day of the pageant. Over and above all is the pageant-master who is commander-in-chief and court of last appeal.

**Finance**—The finance committee should be composed of solid business citizens whose aim should be to make the pageant pay for itself and thereby avoid future sore spots. Very few people object to paying a reasonable sum to witness an entertainment. In fact, people in the United States generally look upon free performances as valueless and have more respect for a thing when an admission is charged. As long as Americans are willing to pay from twenty-five cents to two dollars and more to see a baseball or football game, one need not fear to charge for a pageant. With efficient management and proper advertisement the pageant will draw the crowds.

It is best to have from the beginning a guarantee fund to cover all expenses such as advertisement, office hire, rent, etc. This fund should be raised by popular subscription which should be limited to an amount not to exceed ten dollars by any one person. This limit will prevent individual and firm advertising and will make the laborer and small wage-earner feel that this is their pageant in common with all others who contribute. Everyone will work harder and be more interested because each will feel that he is a stockholder in this community enterprise. This fund will also enable the management to meet bills as they are presented by drawing

checks upon the bank where the money is on deposit.<sup>7</sup> When the banks and business firms find that the finance committee "pays as it goes," a better feeling exists for the undertaking. Everyone feels that the pageant is going to be a success.

**Publicity**—One can not begin to advertise too early, but there must be a systematic plan pursued with the one definite purpose in mind of putting the community on the map. The publicity committee must be composed of persons who have some artistic sense and who also know something about human psychology.

After the time and place of the pageant have been determined, good small-sized circulars, which will fit nicely inside the ordinary envelope, should be printed. In the larger communities, thousands of these should be distributed. See that every business house and professional man are supplied and request that they kindly insert these circulars in their outgoing mail. They will only be too glad to help advertise their community in this fashion.

Artistically designed posters should be made to place in the windows of commercial houses, banks, railway and traction stations, etc.<sup>8</sup> These posters should not be cheap and made of poor material for you are not advertising a show or circus. A person of unusual artistic temperament should design the poster. In some of the larger pageants of the country, the posters, alone, have cost hundreds of dollars, but often a profit has been derived from them by their sale after the pageant has been given. The poster with a picture of the life-saver, made for the Cape Cod Pageant, is a splendid work of art and hundreds of them were sold.

Six or eight months before the day of the pageant, articles on local and State history should begin to appear in the newspapers. The entire press of the city should be solicited for space in order that good feeling may exist and in order that these articles may be read as widely as possible. Paid advertisement should be divided proportionately among all the newspapers of the community. On the opening day of the ticket sale it is a good plan to have several of the newspaper reporters around to take notice of the large sale of tickets, for a report that a large number of tickets have been purchased the first day makes good advertisement.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup> It is not presumed that all the money subscribed will be paid in advance but enough will probably be advanced to meet some of the expenses as they are made.

<sup>8</sup> In order that business men may not object to the display of them in their windows, the size should be limited to 20x14 or approximately that.

<sup>9</sup> Before the opening day of the ticket sale, several tickets should have been

In addition to the circulars, posters and newspapers as publicity mediums, various other devices may be utilized such as banners stretched across the street, arrows pointing to the grounds, special pennants, watch fobs, and special stationery for the committees, envelopes, stamps, postals, etc.

A fine plan to use on the day of the pageant is to have those players that can, to dress at home and go in costume to the pageant-grounds. Bands of Indians roving here and there on the streets, soldiers dressed in the Civil War uniforms, Quaker mothers riding in street cars, the pioneer in his buckskin suit, furnish the finest means for advertising on the day of the performance.

The declaring of a holiday or half-holiday impresses the people with the value of the pageant. It is hard to conceive of any community, where the proper management has been carried on, whose business men will not be glad to give their employees a holiday and in a great number of cases they will do this with full pay for the workmen.

**Costumes**—There are three things necessary to handle successfully the matter of costumes: first, a knowledge of color; second, skill in the use of materials; third, ability to buy.

The pageant should illuminate the landscape with a sort of barbaric, oriental splendor. Use related colors—blue and green, yellow and green, blue and gold, red and green, violet and orange, brown and yellow. Black should be used sparingly, and, whenever deep effects are wanted, use dark green or dark blue broadcloth.<sup>10</sup>

The American Indian is easily portrayed with some green paint, turkey feathers, brown fleshings, painted canvas moccasins, and bow and arrow. The costumes of friendly Indians should be made of leather or leather-colored canton flannel in the manner of long trousers, and shirts adorned with leather cut in strips and bead work, feathers, lines of paint and fringe. Indian girls may wear short skirts and jackets similarly trimmed. Indians on the war path must wear brown fleshings, the loin cloth and the war bonnet. The more blue and yellow paint on their faces, the better it is. Do not dispatch Indians to fight with blankets on their shoulders. The pioneer frontiersman must have his coon-skin cap, fringed buckskin coat

sold to those who are very much interested in the success of the pageant and it should be arranged for them to purchase their tickets, seemingly, on the first day.

<sup>10</sup> Water colors should be used in preference to those of oil.

and long hunting rifle. The Quaker should appear in a broad-brimmed hat and dim-colored clothes of simple trimming.

With the Revolution (1776) came more color, redcoats, bright colored nankin waistcoats, white stockings, buckled shoes, and the three-cornered hats. The women wore their brocades, China silks and wide skirts. Their hair was dressed high and powdered. Beginning about 1840, the tight pantaloon strapped under a calfskin boot, the top-heavy beaver hat and the swallow-tailed coat make their appearance. The Civil War gives us the faded blue uniform. Women wear mantles and poke bonnets. The wide hoop skirts disappear.

Fairies emerging from the woods may be clad in costumes shading from Naples yellow to umber. Violet and lilac drapings with green caps make pretty colors for children. Gauze wings for butterflies may be stretched upon wire frames and attached to the shoulders of the children.

Costly materials are unnecessary. Cheese cloth from six to ten cents per yard; silkaline, ten to twelve cents; crepe cloth, fifteen cents; muslins and cambrics, six cents, and canton flannel, twelve cents up, are the main goods to use in making the costumes.

The following list of books give valuable suggestions for costuming a pageant: Alice Morse Earle's *Two Centuries of Costumes in America*, Macmillan; Elizabeth McClellan's, *Historic Dress in America*, Jacobs; *Modes and Manners of the Nineteenth Century*, by M. Edwardes and Grace Rhys; *Dress Design*, by Talbot Hughes, Macmillan Company, should be in the hands of the costume makers.

Indispensable to the successful staging of a pageant is a dependable and energetic man to take charge of all the properties. The property man should be given a copy of the play and a typewritten or printed list of all the necessary properties except the costumes. The list should be divided into as many acts and scenes as the play has. Every possession should be catalogued as soon as it arrives and to this identification should be added the name of the donor or lender.

**Conclusion**—There is no better way in which a community can observe an anniversary than by means of the pageant in which participants of the play are citizens of that locality. True, the community-drama is young and there is not a well-defined technique yet for it, but this much seems sure, the success of the pageant de-

pends upon the relation of the individual to it, upon the hearty co-operation and entire support of the community.

## II. INDIANA PAGEANT IN 1916

The year 1916 will witness the celebration of Indiana's one hundredth anniversary of statehood. These have been eventful years in which Indiana has grown from a condition of insignificance to one of great importance in the life of the Nation. In 1816, Indians occupied most of the territory of the State; the number of white settlers approximating 65,000. Today a look at the map shows that the Indians have been dispossessed and that approximately 3,000,000 inhabitants, engaged in farming, manufacturing, mining, and the various other industries, occupy the territory within the boundaries of the State. With this increase in population together with the development of its industries has come many of the perplexing political, social and economic problems. Certain it is, that the citizens of this commonwealth can well afford in the year, 1916, to take a look backward, frankly acknowledge the mistakes of the past, but, receiving inspiration from the good achieved through important historical events and through the lives of Indiana's noble men and women, look resolutely forward to a bigger and better future.

Already steps have been taken in the organization and promotion of the Indiana Centennial. The State Legislature very wisely appropriated a sum of \$25,000 to be used in this work. The Indiana Historical Commission with Governor Samuel M. Ralston, president; Frank B. Wynn, vice-president, and Harlow Lindley, secretary, has been appointed.<sup>11</sup> This committee, with headquarters at the State House, Indianapolis, stands ready to give assistance in every way possible. Besides this body, advice and valuable suggestions will be rendered gladly to anyone asking for the same by the history departments of the different colleges and universities, and by the State Librarian.

It is one thing to write and to urge that the citizens of Indiana observe her centennial next year, but it is quite another and more difficult task to tell how the work is to be planned; to be really helpful by being specific in advice and suggestion. An attempt, therefore, will be made in this section of the article, even at the risk of

<sup>11</sup> The other members of the Committee are James A. Woodburn, Charles W. Moore, Samuel M. Foster, Charity Dye, John Cavanaugh and Lew M. O'Bannon.

being thought arbitrary, to show in a definite way how the work should be organized.

The unit of organization which the writer has in mind in this section is that of the County. No objections to the smaller units, such as the township, town or village, are interposed, and a State Pageant at Indianapolis is especially to be desired; but for the sake of brevity and to prevent confusion, it has been thought best to illustrate an organization with the County as a unit.<sup>12</sup>

The public school must be the nucleus of the pageant work. Whether the school officials want to do the work or not their duty is plain. They should be the promoters of this celebration, for the success of the Indiana Centennial in 1916 will depend largely upon the enthusiasm, hard work and intelligence of the school men of the State. This statement is not made with the idea that patriotism and intelligence are peculiar characteristics of school officials, alone, but the argument for this is that there is no institution in a community that more nearly represents the common interests, sympathies, and ideals of its citizens than does the public school. The school heads do not represent any church, fraternity, lodge, commercial club or labor organization, but they do represent the entire community and should be above petty quarrels, factions and jealous rivalries. How would the school authorities feel to sit back and to permit this work to be undertaken by some social club or church? The result in all probability would be failure and the responsibility for such could justly be placed at the door of the school officials.

The writer recalls a celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of a certain locality in the State, in which a street carnival was the main attraction and centennial features were a slight affair. The carnival was a disgrace to the community and during the centennial week, ministers, school teachers, and religionists of all kinds were busy in denouncing the committee, but in reality they were condemning themselves. The management was undertaken by a group of young men who, it seems, were enthusiastic for a celebration of the city's one hundredth birthday, but they were inexperienced as to how the thing should be done. Meeting with scant encouragement, anywhere, and seeing financial loss in sight, they en-

<sup>12</sup> The smaller pageants should precede, if possible, the county pageant. In most cases, these can not be very elaborate and should probably be in the nature of a home-coming. In most instances, the county seat will be the center of the organization. There may be in a few cases, places where better sites could be selected than one near the chief city in the county.

gaged a carnival company to come for a week and from the money thus derived from the management of the show company, they aimed to meet all expenses. There could be one result only: the centennial was a failure. Criticism was directed against the committee, but the greater fault was in those who criticized. In this instance, the school should have seized the opportunity and placed itself in readiness to serve the community by becoming the center of activity in the management of the centennial.

Too much emphasis can not be put on the fact that the centennial celebration is not to be the work of a club, a church, a fraternity, or any such organization; for failure in most instances is sure to follow. The school must be the center with all these other interests represented. Much has been written about the "school as a social center" and here is a grand opportunity to put into practice this educational idea.

After school has started in the fall of 1915, the school superintendent should call a meeting of all his principals and teachers and put the matter of a centennial before them.<sup>13</sup> He should explain the purpose of such a work and ask for co-operation and loyalty from them. Any literature in pageantry which the superintendent may have should be distributed at this time.

One of the first moves that should be made by the school head is the organization of a teachers' club for the study of the history of the community, and of the State. Teachers who know little or nothing about the history of their locality and commonwealth, can do little in arousing interest in pupils.

After a study of the growth of the community and the State has been completed, and after the outline of the most important historical events has been made, the next step should be the teaching of these facts in the public schools of the State. The school law of Indiana provides for the teaching of both State and United States civics. Why not devote at least the first half of the year 1915-'16 to a study of Indiana history and civics? The teacher who now knows the main facts of local and State history will find it delightful to teach these things to the pupils. Have the pupils draw and make things illustrative of pioneer life such as the log hut, the white top canvas

<sup>13</sup> The city superintendent. The county superintendent is not the one to lead in the work because his field of activity is too wide and his duties too many, to assume such a responsibility. He is not in constant touch with a certain definite group of teachers like the city superintendent. To be sure there should be coöperation between the two and the county school head should encourage the study of local and State history in his schools.

wagon, and the old-fashioned baby cradle and crib. Pictures of historic places such as those at Vincennes, Corydon and Indianapolis can be shown to advantage. A teacher need not go out of the State to get material for biography study when there have been so many illustrious men and women in Indiana.

From the very beginning a place in the school building should be provided to serve as a museum or exhibit of articles which may be brought to school by the pupils. They should be encouraged to bring with them anything of historical importance such as old documents, songs, guns, tools, weapons and rare articles of clothing, with the assurance that all these things will be labeled and catalogued with the name of the donor or lender. In order to avoid loss of any kind, some competent person—preferably a teacher—should be appointed to look after these properties. There is no doubt but that the historical literature of Indiana will be greatly enriched by the new material brought to light during the centennial year.

In addition to the active co-operation of the pupils, invitations should be extended to the pioneers of the community to visit the schools and, in some cases, to ask them to tell about things as they used to be. Veterans there are in every place who can tell interestingly of Civil War service. Where, because of infirmities, the old people can not come to the school building, it would be, besides an act of courtesy, a valuable thing for the teachers to pay them a visit.

The history department of the high school will doubtlessly be called upon to select the material for the episodes of the pageant. This they should do with the purpose of picking out only those events which have historical significance. While in most cases, the opening scene in the first episode will portray the first settlers of the community, emphasis should be put upon those historical facts in local history, which have State and National importance. The head of the history department should be ready at any time to assist the pageant-master in regard to suggestions as to the dress, manners, customs, religion and education of the early settlers. Another duty of the history department will be to furnish the local papers with brief and accurate articles on the history of the community.

After the material is collected for the episodes, a genuine opportunity is then furnished for a real piece of composition work on the part of the English teachers who should study the material and dramatize it, i. e., write the pageant. English teachers who have advanced students might profitably spend two or three weeks in

working over the material in order to get the assistance of the pupils. This plan would afford both teachers and pupils a chance to do creative work, a thing much desired in all teaching.

After the entire school system is at work and when the school pupils have dug into old trunks, boxes, the attic, etc., and are asking questions at home concerning this man and that event, and are telling many interesting things themselves, the time is ripe for the superintendent to begin his work outside the school. His first move to make is to lay his plans for a pageant before the school trustees and enlist their support. They are usually a fine group of men and influential in the affairs of the locality. He should not make the mistake, now, of announcing a meeting of the citizens to consider plans for the organizing of a pageant because in all probability but a few would be present. His second step is to see a number of the representative men and women of the community who are wide awake and who will be interested in a historical pageant that will do the community credit. Considerable missionary work may be necessary as it will take some little time to educate those few to the rich possibilities of a centennial celebration.

Now that a few are interested besides the school officials, a general meeting should be called, to which everybody should be invited and special efforts ought to be made to have representatives present from all the various religious, educational, social, industrial and commercial organizations. A well-arranged program should be given in which short and interesting talks may be made by the superintendent and those who have already been seen in regard to a centennial celebration. Appropriate music should be furnished. This is the idea: this meeting must be carefully planned and executed for much depends upon the outcome. "A bad beginning makes a good ending," is poor logic for this occasion because everyone should go away feeling that a community enterprise is about to be undertaken in which he must do his share.

At this meeting, the Representative Committee should be selected. Extreme care should be exercised in the makeup of this body. The art of the politician may be used here in a justifiable manner by knowing definitely beforehand who should compose the personnel of this committee. With the proper committee selected, the school now becomes only one institution among the many other organizations to promote the work of the pageant. The superintendent should at no time try to make the pageant a school affair. He, himself, should

now retreat to the background, and become a mere private in the ranks of the workers. He should not absolutely refuse to accept the responsible positions of Chairman of the Executive Committee or pageant-master, but he should avoid these, if possible.

The first duty for the Representative Committee will be to select a pageant-master. After this is done, it then becomes the duty of all to obey his commands. The pageant-master will select for the different parts of the performance individuals in the community, all of whom should stand ready to assist in every manner possible. Only under such conditions can success be assured.

### III. A TYPICAL COMMUNITY PAGEANT OF INDIANA IN 1916

The counterpart of the struggle, accompanied often by great adversities of any single individual for economic independence, may easily be found in the character of any pioneer community in Indiana in its fight for industrial freedom and greatness. In this section of the article, certain episodes and scenes suggestive of the early life of the city of Evansville are given with the hope that the reader may find in these concrete things, something analogous to his own locality.<sup>14</sup>

#### EPISODE I—(1795-1805)

**Scene I**—In 1775, Louis Viviat, an agent of the Wabash Land Company, purchases from the Piankeshaw Indians, 37,497,600 acres of land of which Evansville is now a part. This scene may represent Viviat in council with the eleven Piankeshaw chiefs and his obtaining from them a deed<sup>15</sup> of the ceded territory. The exact words of the deed may be quoted, showing how willingly the Indians relinquished their right to this land for certain things such as blankets, ribbons, knives, kettles, gunpowder, lead, tobacco, salt, etc.

**Scene II**—On February 14, 1805, Governor William H. Harrison proclaims on the part of the United States, the treaty which had been made between him and the Delawares on August 27, 1804, whereby these Indians give up their claim to that tract of country of which Evansville is now a part. The land is placed on the market at the land office at Post Vincennes.

<sup>14</sup> Because of certain personal reasons, the writer has selected this place. It is not the purpose at all in this discussion to present a history of Evansville for such material would be both superfluous and irrelevant in an article of this kind. It is believed that the events suggested in the scenes for the Evansville pageant are typical of many other communities in the State.

<sup>15</sup> Congress never confirmed the claim of this company.

## EPISODE II—(1812-1832.)

**Scene I**—In 1812, Hugh McGary, a Kentucky pioneer purchases from the government of the United States the land on which the city of Evansville now stands; and leaving his home in Gibson county, Indiana, comes to the north bank of the Ohio and there builds him a log house in which to live.

This scene may represent McGary as a typical frontiersman; dressed in buckskin clothing, coonskin cap, and deerskin moccasins, with his "pea" or "squirrel" flint lock rifle, coming to his new home. With his ax and augur, he sets to work to build him a log house of the spacious dimensions, 38x18 feet.

**Scene II**—In 1817, Colonel McGary sells 130 acres of land to Gen. Robert M. Evans and James W. Jones, who unite with him in remodeling and enlarging the town. A number of lots are sold this year and attention is called to the fact that this is a convenient landing place for Vincennes and other towns on the Wabash. Realizing that to insure the growth of their town, it must become a county seat, they seek to effect a division of Warrick county. Their success is imperiled by the opposition of Col. Ratliff Boone, who does not wish to see his county divided. A meeting is arranged—probably through the efforts of Gen. Joseph Lane—between McGary and Evans on the one side, and Boone and Daniel Grass on the other, in which an agreement is reached for a division of Warrick. Vanderburg county is thus created, and after a meeting of the commissioners in McGary's warehouse, it is decided to make Evansville the county seat. In the following year, Evansville becomes an incorporated town with McGary as the first president of the town board. The tax levy is twenty cents on the hundred dollars, and the total taxes for the first year amount to \$191.28.

This scene, in the beginning, may represent McGary as discouraged over the prospects of the town, but with an indomitable will, he sets to work to overcome all obstacles. It would be very easy to arrange the meeting where it was decided to divide Warrick county. The meeting of the commissioners in McGary's warehouse, for the purpose of selecting the "seat of justice" for the new county may be shown. The first session of the board would no doubt be very interesting.

**Scene III**—(1832) McGary is accused by Mark Wheeler of stealing his horse, a crime in those days as serious as that of murder.

A warrant is issued for the arrest of McGary, whereupon the constable, Samuel Hooker, anticipating resistance from the fighting old colonel, takes with him five men, heavily armed. They find McGary sitting astride Wheeler's horse. He shows no fight and willingly returns with his captors. He is tried and acquitted, his defense being that he had bought the horse from one Wasson who, after the arrest of McGary, had run away. A majority of the citizens believe in the colonel's innocence, but he has his enemies who still keep alive the story. The old gentleman, feeling keenly their slanderous attacks on his character, goes on with his business for some time, but at last he becomes broken-hearted and leaves for the South, presumably on a business trip. He never returns.

This scene can be made beautifully impressive. Wheeler can be shown to appear before Squire Jacobs, who issues the warrant for the arrest of McGary. The constable and his five strongly armed men are seen to leave. McGary welcomes them as friends only to learn that he is under arrest for horse stealing. The trial takes place and the colonel is declared innocent. The citizens, generally, rejoice in his acquittal, but his few enemies keep alive the story by telling it to the new settlers as they come here to live. The last part of the scene should represent McGary broken-hearted, riding away from the city that he loved and had done so much for, and just before he gets out of sight of the audience, he stops, and turning around in his saddle he takes his farewell look at the little town. The lesson of this scene, the evil consequences of slanderous attacks upon another's character, can be made as strongly impressive as the same theme expressed by means of the drama.

#### EPISODE III—(1833-'44)

**Scene I—(1835-'36)** The State Legislature passes the Internal Improvement Bill and Evansville is made the southern terminus of the Central, Wabash and Erie Canals. This makes Evansville the outlet of two rich valleys, and as a consequence of these commercial prospects, emigration increases greatly and real estate advances to high and speculative rates. This part of the episode, of course, will represent the people rejoicing over the expectant prosperity of their community and their joy is given expression in one of the old time barbecues.

**Scene II—(1837-'38)** The financial crisis comes and Evans-

ville shares with all the other places in the country in its evil results. The work of internal improvement is abandoned; trade in general is stagnant, and population decreases.

This scene is the antithesis of the first in this episode. The people are now gloomy and depressed in spirit; some bringing their produce to market only to be turned away for lack of money, while others may be shown losing their property to the eastern creditors because they have not the money to make their payments.

#### EPISODE IV—(1845-'60)

**Scene I**—On January 27, 1847, a special charter is granted to Evansville for its incorporation as a city, by the State Legislature. The first meeting of the city council is held April 12th of the same year.

**Scene II**—In March, 1848, the city enters into contract with a private company to grade the river bank and construct a wharf, fronting on five squares, a length of nearly two thousand feet.

This scene represents an important step in the commercial prosperity of the city. Evansville is at this time the center of a great flood of commerce coming from the Ohio and the Wabash Valleys. It might be easy enough to show the old flatboat of those days, especially if the pageant-ground is near the river.

**Scene III**—In 1850, work on the Evansville and Crawfordsville Railroad is begun. Both the city and county aid by the issue of a large amount of bonds while the citizens furnish such individual aid as is possible.

This last part of the episode reveals another great advance in the upbuilding of the city. In this scene, the conflict may be brought out between those who were interested in the canal and those who do not believe that Evansville can ever become great without railroad facilities, a struggle between conservatism and progressivism.

#### EPISODE V—(1861-'65)

**Scene I**—On April 12, 1861, Fort Sumter is fired upon. April 17, 1861, a call, signed by the leading citizens of Evansville, is issued for a public meeting at the court house in the evening of the same day. Because of the presence of so large a gathering, the meeting is held near the market house, where a stirring address is made by

James E. Blythe. On April 19, Capt. Noah S. Thompson, a veteran of the Mexican War, telegraphs the adjutant general at Indianapolis, "Will you receive a company from this city?" The answer comes back, "Yes, come on immediately." The company is mustered into the United States service, as Company E, Fourteenth Infantry. Before departing for Indianapolis, the company is presented with a beautiful silk flag by the women of Evansville.

This scene may be dramatized effectively in one of several ways. An impressive picture would be that where the troops are presented the flag by the women of the city, Mr. John Shanklin making the presentation speech, the exact words of which could be used to a good effect. The volunteers of Company E then march away to the music of some national air played by the orchestra. Or the scene might be that of a number of immigrants who have just arrived in time to attend the first meeting called after the news of the firing on Fort Sumter, and who take the oath of allegiance administered that evening by Mayor Conrad Baker, and within a short time thereafter volunteer to fight for their new home and country.

**Scene II**—This is a scene where one of the soldiers of Company E is brought home, wounded. The citizens who have anxiously awaited news from the first company that enlisted in Evansville, are now much excited. In a fit of fever the soldier describes the battle in which he was wounded. While he is describing the conflict between the two armies, off in the front, at a distance where only the outline of the armies may be seen, a battle may be raging between the Blue and the Gray, with the two flags plainly discernible. This scene should be given primarily to bring out a lesson of peace. Towards the close of the soldier's talk he should be made to say to his family standing nearby that they don't understand the War, that the soldiers of the North and South do not hate one another, that the soldiers of the South are just as brave and think they are fighting for principle just the same as the soldiers of the North.

In the foregoing episodes, an effort has been made to select a number of events that were historically significant in the development of the life and character of the city of Evansville, and in a lesser degree of the State of Indiana. At no time has the thought been that all these different scenes should or could be used in a pageant of two or three hours in length, but the idea was simply to show that good material was available. The work of selecting and unifying the material is that of the pageant-master.

For at least two reasons, no suggestions have been offered in regard to the nature of the episodes which should follow the Civil War period. First, some pageant-masters might not care to extend the pageant beyond the period of the Civil War. Second, presuming that the pageant-master should not want to bring the performance down to include the present and to symbolize the future, it has been thought unwise, because of the great number and the complexity of events since 1865, to attempt in an article of this length to select any further events, important as they may have been in local, and in State history.

## The Era of the *Tassements* or Stockaded Trading Posts

By HUBERT M. SKINNER, President of the Porter County Historical Society

With the wild, stupendous dream of France that it could seize the interior of North America, making a highway of the Great Lakes and the Mississippi from Quebec to the Gulf of Mexico, came the era of the *tassements*, or stockaded trading posts made of logs set perpendicularly in the ground.

There were *tassements* erected all along the shores of the lakes and of the Mississippi and its eastern confluent. An endless passing of canoes kept all the *tassements* in touch, one with another. The men in the canoes were of three classes. They were traders, explorers and priests. All three classes were animated by a zeal amounting almost to frenzy. The French king paid the explorers; the great societies of the church supported the priests; and the profits of the fur trade animated the commercial men. The latter very generally married Indian wives.

It was long assumed that the Mississippi, discovered and crossed by De Soto in 1541, flowed out from one of the Great Lakes, though its source had not been discovered; nor was it found indeed for five generations after De Soto. In 1679, a water route involving a *portage* (or carrying place for canoes) of four miles (from the site of South Bend to the Kankakee) was discovered, to connect Lake Michigan with the Mississippi via the St. Joseph, the Kankakee, and the Illinois rivers. There were three other routes with portages. The Fox and Wisconsin rivers constituted one of these; the Chicago and the Des Plaines rivers another; and the Maumee and headwaters of the Wabash, the third.

With the *tassements* of the great chain were usually mission houses, Indian tepees or lodges, etc., and many of these posts became the nuclei of future cities. The *tassements* conspicuous for their missions took, usually, the names of the latter, being dedicated to some saint, as St. Joseph, St. Louis, etc. Some were named for civil or military officers; as Carondelet, Vincennes, etc. Some were so little noted as to be called simply, the "Poste," or the "Tassement."

The romantic era of the *tassements* closed in 1763, when the French power in North America was completely overthrown. It had lasted from 1673, when the first two of the four portage waterways between the Great Lakes and the Mississippi were discovered. Its story, little written, lived in the folklore of the Indians of the West. The funerals, weddings, masses, baptisms, councils, trades, treaty makings, accidents, surprises, reunions, fights, bargains, births, celebrations, etc., connected with every *tassement* might fill volumes, if they had been recorded. This story is all lost to us in those parts of the country where the chain of tradition was rudely snapped and completely broken off by the sudden removal of the Indians in a body to make room for the white settlers of a new era, early in the last century.

The very word *tassement* has dropped out of use in both its French and its English forms. It is not now to be found with the definition of "palisade" in any dictionary or cyclopedia that is in use. It is rarely used in any sense. By an old rule for rendering French words in English phonetic equivalents, the French syllable *ment* was always written *mong* in English; and in such words as this, the middle vowel was represented by "i," to make sure that the word would be pronounced in three syllables. Thus the English equivalent of *tassement* was *tassimong*. This rule of equivalents has long been eliminated from our best English dictionaries. It was observed that, while bookish people pronounced such words according to the English spelling, those who were guided by the ear and not by the written word said *maw* (not *mong*), sometimes giving a very slight nasal sound to the syllable. This indeed was always a test, showing that the sound of the word was acquired orally by those who spoke it thus.

French scholars and teachers, people of wide reading and culture, will tell you, today, that they never heard or saw the word *tassement* in all their lives. You may search for it in vain in the modern French lexicons and cyclopedias. It is only in the rare writing of centuries gone that you can find it.

It so happens that the last of all the "tassimongs" to bear this name is to be found in my native county—the only Porter county in the world—in Indiana. There is a touch of sentiment in this fact. Students of literature love to see the old word *mark* lingering in two places on the map of Europe, in the names of Den-

mark and Steiermarck (Styria). Formerly it meant a country, as in the lines:

This was the dwelling of Volsung, the king of the Midworld's Mark,  
Like a rose in the winter season, a candle in the dark.

It was used, slightly varied, in many languages, but has strangely dropped out of use.

Old maps of Porter county, likewise, are the last in the world to bear the name Tassimong, accidentally varied by the substitution of *n* for *m*, and written *Tassinong*.

A century ago, when there were no white inhabitants within the limits of our country, old Tassinong was the only locality within those limits that was named as a point to reckon from. White men were periodically visiting that part of the country, and all of these traders, missionaries, etc., were familiar with the location of the ancient French trading post, which was then only a memory of the Indians.

The earliest settlers of the country always called it "Tassinaw," much to the amusement of those who were familiar with the English spelling of the name. This fact is a conclusive proof that they acquired the pronunciation by oral transmission, through an unbroken line of generations, from the old historic era of the French *tassements*, the Indians having handed it down.

How old is *Tassinong*? When was the stockade built by the French at this point?

La Salle descended the Kankakee river in 1679, and he passed through the land of Porter county on foot three times within the next two years, following the Old Sac Trail. There were no Indians then living in what is now Indiana. About two hundred years ago the Indians came to what is now northern Indiana, from the north and the northeast. The country north of the Kankakee was very rich in fur-bearing animals, for these had not suffered from the depredations of men, and had become wonderfully numerous, attracting the fur trader, and richly rewarding the Indian hunter and trapper. Hither the trader came, and erected his rude *tassement*, which was at once a store, bazaar for the display of trinkets for sale, a temporary dwelling, and a place secure from marauders. It is interesting to note that the earliest meaning of the word *tassement* was a collection of goods, or articles, as for display or for sale. That it came to mean also a simple stockade or palisade was due, doubtless, to the fact that the French stockades

of this class were of service as trading posts, this being the most important thing to both Indians and traders. Our Tassinong answered to both definitions of the word. Just when this *tassement* of the French was erected, and just where the stockade stood, nobody seems to know. Probably it was among the earliest in Indiana. It is easy to suppose that its establishment was nearly two centuries ago, or within a quarter-century after La Salle became familiar with this vicinity.

It is quite natural to suppose that it is as old as Vincennes, though it was never conspicuous enough to have any name but the "*Tassement*" among the French. It was not on the line of the Old Sac Trail, though a branch of the trail led down to it. Because of the superior ease of transportation of merchandise, *tassements* were nearly always located on the banks of rivers. Our Tassinong, however, was situated some distance north of the river, on the up-land and away from the swamp, but conveniently near to it. Whether the old stockade was destroyed by the English about 1763, when they took possession of the western country, or whether it was left slowly to disintegrate as an abandoned post, or whether it long remained as a rendezvous for English fur buyers and for the red sellers of furs, is not known. An abandoned stockade does not usually last very long. The logs begin to lean in or out, and finally fall. They offer convenient fuel for the campfires of sojourners, and are serviceable for other purposes. Possibly some light might be thrown on the site of the ancient stockade by a careful study of any relics that were found by pioneers of the vicinity.

Seventy years ago, old Tassinong was something of a village and trading point for farmers. Gil Pierce grew to manhood in Tassinong, and so did Judge A. D. Bartholomew. Gil Pierce's political career was highly honorable—brilliant, in fact; but he will be remembered chiefly as the man of letters and of society, an ornament to the nation. And if his boyhood home dates back two centuries—as seems likely—his *Dickens Dictionary* will probably last through twice two centuries more. I could wish that he had busied himself somewhat with the archaeology of old Tassinong. Judge Bartholomew's fine legal mind and forceful character have won for him an enviable place in the ranks of jurists. Perhaps some day he may give reminiscences of a boyhood passed on the site of one of the most ancient posts in Indiana, which alone on the maps of the nation has preserved its ancient name, being in all the world the last of the *Tassements*.

## Reviews and Notes

*Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society, Volume XV, St. Paul, 1915. 872 pp.*

This volume contains the papers read before the society during the last six years. The first paper is a history of "Railroad Legislation in Minnesota 1849 to 1875", by Rasmus S. Saby. The paper deals at length with the attempt of the Grangers to get control of the railroads, two-thirds of the 188 pages being taken up with this important question. A five-page paper by John H. Randall, entitled "The Beginning of Railroad Building in Minnesota," supplements the former paper. William Watts Folwell has a twenty-five page paper on the "Five Million Loan." This also was a scheme developed in 1858 to finance some railroads with the State credit. An elaborate paper of fifty-five pages is devoted to "The Kensington Rune Stone," a mysterious tablet supposed to have been inscribed by the Northmen at least 500 years ago. An article of twenty-seven pages by State Auditor, Samuel G. Iverson, deals with "The Public Lands and the School Fund of Minnesota." There are a score or so of other articles, many of them of interest to the whole Northwest. It is an excellent volume both with regard to its material and its general appearance. The papers are of high grade and well edited. The society is to be commended for its good work. The officers of the society, moreover, are a guaranty that the high standard of their volume will be maintained.

THE *Jefferson-Lemen Compact* is the name of a 58-page pamphlet issued by the University of Chicago Press, edited by Willard C. MacNaul. The paper is intended to show the relations of Thomas Jefferson and James Lemen to the struggle for the exclusion of slavery from the Illinois and North-west Territories. The period covered extends from 1781 to 1818.

James Lemen was a well-known pioneer of Illinois, his home having been known as Lemen's Fort or the "New Design." He was

a founder of the Baptist Church in Illinois. His family has taken a prominent part in Illinois history. Speaking of his sons, January 10, 1820, he said:

"My six sons are all naturally industrious and they all enjoy the sports. Robert and Josiah excel in fishing, Moses in hunting, William in boating and swimming and James and Joseph in running and jumping. Either of them can jump over a line held at his own height, a little over six feet."

The pamphlet contains a considerable amount of source material in the form of diaries and correspondence.

THE Studebaker Brothers have just issued a small pamphlet giving the history of this manufacturing industry which began 117 years ago in York County, Pennsylvania. Only one, J. M. Studebaker, of the five brothers who founded the wagon factory at South Bend, now remains.

THE "Indiana Society" of Chicago has entered the historical field with a new Magazine of History. The booklet describes the society's annual outing which was held this year at the Tippecanoe Battle Ground, June 26. Aside from the humor the booklet contains a reproduction of Robert W. Grafton's painting of the battle, Charles B. Lasselle's sketch map of the battlefield, Winter's picture of the battlefield, and two accounts of the battle, one by Judge Isaac Naylor and the other an address by Alva O. Reser, delivered at the Battlefield, June 19, 1904.

COLONEL GIL R. STORMONT delivered the historical address at the unveiling of the Monument to the Fifty-eighth Indiana Regiment at Princeton, July 5. The address appears in the *Clarion-News* and in the *Democrat*.

Colonel Stormont also continues from time to time his political reminiscences. These appear in the *Clarion-News*.

THE Extension Division of Indiana University is sending out a *Manual of Pageantry*, prepared by Dr. Robert Withington, of the English Department. It is a pamphlet of twenty pages setting forth in a brief way the principles of pageantry as practiced at present. Those interested in that form of Centennial Celebration should have this manual. It is sent gratis by the Extension Division.

THE address of Governor Samuel M. Ralston, at the Panama-Pacific Exposition, on Indiana Day, June 26, has been issued in pamphlet form. It is an excellent review of the history, present condition, and prospect of the State. On the last page, the Governor makes a beautiful appeal to all wandering Hoosiers to return home for the celebration next year.

THE *Citizen* is the name of a monthly magazine which made its first appearance July, 1915. It is the organ of the Movement for a New Constitution for Indiana, and is published at Fort Wayne. On its board of editors are Professor Frank T. Stockton, Dr. Amelia Keller, Theodore F. Thieme, Judge W. H. Eichhorn, John R. Jones, Charles Fox, and Charles E. Cox. The first number is excellent and if that standard can be maintained it deserves to live.

MR. W. W. STEVENS, former editor of the Salem *Democrat*, has a real story in that paper of July 14. His theme is "The Story of the Common Blue Willow Plate," the chinaware of our ancestors. The story is of Chinese origin and is well told by Mr. Stevens.

The *Democrat* has presumably finished its series of articles on the biographies of citizens past their eightieth milestone, and is now running an equally valuable and interesting series on the homes of the citizens.

THE Sullivan *Union* has been running a series of articles on the history of the townships of Sullivan county. These contain a wonderful amount of historical information which at some future time will be even more valuable than at present. Part of this is said to have been prepared by the township high school pupils. Nothing could be more appropriate this year and next than such histories written by every township, town and city school in the State. Such a survey of the State would produce an invaluable collection. Editor Chaney should turn his idea over to the Centennial Commission.

THE *Huntingburg Independent*, May 8, 1915, contains a commencement address delivered by Ex-superintendent George R. Wilson of Dubois county, at the Cuzco High School. Mr. Wilson devoted most of his address to a history of the Buckingham Base Line which runs through Cuzco. The line follows approximately the Buffalo Trace which later became the Vincennes Trace, one of

the first roads of the State. Mr. Wilson strongly urged the citizens of Cuzco to erect a marker at that place to indicate at least to travellers on the railroad that they are crossing the base line. No man in the State takes more pleasure than Mr. Wilson in investigating problems of local history. He is also enthusiastically in favor of proper monuments being erected to commemorate historic Indiana events and places.

THE *History Teacher's Magazine* for June has a timely article on "Local History in the College Curriculum," by Professor William K. Boyd of Trinity College, Durham, North Carolina. The eminent success of Trinity College in this work gives Professor Boyd's article great value as a guide in this field.

THE *Liberty Express*, August 6, 1915, said arrangements were complete for putting up a marker at the birthplace of Joaquin Miller, fourteen miles from Richmond. The marker will be a huge boulder properly inscribed.

THE Kendallville *News-Sun* is running a "History of the Regulators of Northern Indiana." The period covered by the articles is that immediately preceding the Civil War. As a contribution to our social history these papers have great value. As is well known a band of criminals terrorized north-eastern Indiana during this period. They were in close proximity to Ohio and Michigan, and not very far from Canada. Counterfeiting and horse stealing were their chief occupations. They were strong enough to over-awe the law and frequently to control the officers whose duty it was to enforce the law. They were broken up by a band of regulators, organized to enforce the law.

THE Indianapolis *Medical Journal* for July has a biography of Dr. Robert W. Long who died at his home in Indianapolis, June 18. He is widely known for his gift to the State of the Robert W. Long Hospital. The value of the gift is about \$250,000. The biographical article is written by Dr. S. E. Earp.

THE *Indiana Alumni Magazine* for July continues its history of the University. Dr. James A. Woodburn has taken up the story where Judge Banta dropped it. The current article deals with con-

ditions in the fifties. A few of the alumni of that period have assisted Dr. Woodburn with their reminiscences. No alumnus of the University can afford to miss these articles.

THE *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for July has two articles on the Indians dealing especially with their removals. The first, by Jacob Van der Zee, is on "The Neutral Ground," the other by the same author is on "The Black Hawk War and the Treaty of 1832." John E. Briggs describes "The Grasshopper Plagues of Iowa," and a selection from the autobiography of John Nash, dealing with the early history of Des Moines College, is in the same number.

THE Valparaiso *Daily Vidette*, July 16, contains a poem by Hubert M. Skinner entitled "Valparaiso's Revolutionary Scenes, 1777, '78, '81." The poem recounts the work of the heroes Brady, Maillet, and Pourre in the capture of Post St. Joseph. The author rightly calls attention to the neglect of the early history of the northern part of Indiana. If everybody will lend a hand it is possible in the near future to remove this criticism.

THE Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society held its forty-first annual meeting at Lansing, June 2 and 3. Besides the usual addresses nine carefully prepared papers were read or handed in for publication. By this means the society every year harvests practically all the papers of value on historical topics prepared in the State. These papers are edited and published. The society now has thirty-eight large volumes of such collections.

THE *Missouri Historical Review* of July contains a short biographical account of William Rockhill Nelson who died at his home in Kansas City, April 30. Mr. Nelson was born in Fort Wayne, March 7, 1841. Before founding the *Star* at Kansas City he had learned the newspaper business as editor of the *Fort Wayne Sentinel*. The *Review* ranked him with Joseph Pulitzer, Carl Schurz, and Walter Williams as among the most distinguished newspaper men of Missouri. He was a trustee of the Missouri State Historical Society.

## Minor Notices

FELIX T. MCWHIRTER

Mr. McWhirter was born in Lynchburg, Tennessee, July 17, 1853. In 1873 he graduated from East Tennessee Wesleyan University, taking a master's degree three years later. For a few years he edited the *Athens (Tenn.) News*, serving as mayor of that city in 1877. Following 1887, for a number of years he taught rhetoric and English literature at DePauw University. About 1890 he came to Indianapolis and engaged in the real estate business. In 1900 he organized the Peoples' Bank, over which he presided until his death June 5, 1915, at the age of 62. Besides his interest in education and especially in literature he took an active interest in politics. Perhaps he is better known in connection with the Prohibition party than any other man in the State. He was one of its ablest supporters, and in 1904 was its candidate for governor. He was active in locating the Long Hospital, was a prominent member of the Central Avenue Methodist Church, of the Chamber of Commerce, and a Mason.

### THE PIGEON ROOST MASSACRE

A mistake concerning the names of the victims of the above has crept into the printed accounts. The names in the *Readings in Indiana History*, page 129, were taken from Dillon. A little care would have partially corrected the error. In the account by Isaac Naylor the name "Ellis" Payne is given instead of "Elias" Payne.

INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA, May 2, 1915.

Gentlemen—I have been informed of an error in a book written by you lately, I think, concerning the history of the State. My home is in Salem, and not being there at this time, can not give all particulars, but perhaps enough for you to find it. The mistake was in regard to Pigeon Roost Massacre, 1812, saying Jeremiah Payne and family were among the victims there at that time, which should have read thus: Elias Payne and family, who was a brother of Jeremiah Payne.

I am a granddaughter of the last named and remember him quite well; besides have known his children, my mother's brothers and sisters and their children also. If you have the story of Pigeon Roost Massacre,

written in the year when the monument was made and dedicated, you can there see how it is; as the same mistake was being made then when I stated this same error to Captain Fortune Jeffersonville and it was corrected. Hoping this may be of some help to you in your work, as well as to myself, I shall feel grateful to you in future as may be you can change and rearrange correctly.

Yours truly,

MRS. A. R. OVERMAN.

#### THE MARECHAL NEY TRADITION.

The following letter from Reverend Jansen is a valuable contribution toward a settlement of the "Ney Tradition" and is here published as written:

ST. BONIFACE, MINNESOTA, May 14, 1915.

Dear Sir—In answer to your kind letter received this morning, I beg to make the following statement:

In 1888, as Catholic pastor in Henderson, Sibley county, Minnesota, I made the acquaintance there of the old Doctor of Medicine, Seigneur et Francais de la France. On the accession of Louis Napoleon either as president in 1848 or as emperor in 1852 (I forget which) several revolution makers had to fly from France to escape guillotine or imprisonment. Victor Hugo, Louis Blanc, the Bijous, and the Seigneurs, etc. The Seigneurs went to the English island of Jersey, the bishops to Switzerland (I have an old daguerotype of Victor Hugo against the Jersey rocks). Leaving out the history of those families, I may confine myself to the Ney business.

When there appeared in the paper (probably at that time the St. Paul *Globe*) an article about the Ney Traditions in connection with a party found out in, I believe, Virginia, I spoke about it to Dr. Seigneur, etc. The doctor had studied in Paris, France, and graduated there in 1845. His mother was working, as matron or nurse, or in some other capacity at the Hospital de la Maternite in Paris, and from a window in the hospital saw the whole of the shooting of Marechal Ney (whom she knew very well, anyhow by sight) against the blind wall of a house or a garden nearby.

I say knew Ney, but if I recollect well, she was personally acquainted with him. Of course, at that time I did not pay so much attention to the statement, but only in as far as it was a general refutation of the newspaper report. (Maybe I have still the latter in my scrap books, which are not here.)

I helped to bury Dr. Seignenret years ago in Henderson where he lived to the age of about ninety. His only son died in the Island of Jersey, pretty well helpless and *aliéné* in his last months. Of the Bijous there are still several alive.

I ask: "French or English"—presuming that you are French or of French descent. I thought of the name of General Isabey, (of Napoleon I's time).

Hoping this little may be of some interest, if not of value, and willing to give any information, I can, I beg to remain,

Yours truly,  
(Signed) W. B. G. JANSEN, Pr.

#### THE LINCOLN WAY

The interest developed by this investigation has brought out some valuable articles reminiscent of the Lincolns. The best of these have appeared in the Petersburg *Press*, the Huntingburg *Independent*, and the Boonville *Standard*. The *Press* has evidence that the Lincoln Way lay through Petersburg, while the *Independent* published a very able article by George R. Wilson setting forth the evidence that the Lincolns passed through Jasper. The *Standard*, through its correspondent, Mr. Baker, has published the evidence showing that they passed through Boonville. The papers possess great interest for the local historian. All of it should be published after the commission has made its decision.

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# INDIANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

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## Reminiscences of the Burning of Columbia, South Carolina

By MICHAEL C. GARBER, JR., Madison, Indiana

The following letters and official reports will show something of the bitterness of the dispute over the burning of Columbia:

"And without hesitation I charged General Wade Hampton with having burned his own city of Columbia, not with a malicious intent, or as the manifestation of a silly 'Roman stoicism,' but from folly and want of sense, in filling it with lint, cotton and tinder."—Report of MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM T. SHERMAN, dated Goldsborough, N. C., April 4, 1865.

"In my official report of this conflagration, I distinctly charged it to General Wade Hampton, and confess I did so pointedly, to shake the faith of his people in him, for in my opinion he was a braggart, and professed to be the special champion of South Carolina."—GEN. WILLIAM T. SHERMAN, in his *Memoirs*.

"He (Sherman) shall be dealt with in the manner that all defamers deserve, and my language shall be so plain and the proofs so overwhelming that even he himself can understand, obtuse though he may be to the obligations due to or from a gentleman."—LIEUTENANT GENERAL WADE HAMPTON, in Letter of June 24, 1873, with Appendix.

"I have proved that every assertion made by Sherman in his official report, so far as they have been quoted here are false, and I shall now prove, not only that his troops burned the city, but that the destruction of it was premeditated."—LIEUTENANT GENERAL WADE HAMPTON, in Letter of June 24, 1873, with Appendix.

The burning of Columbia, South Carolina, February 17, 1865, was one of the most deplorable events of the Civil War and one that has left a deep and ineradicable scar. The event was so dreadful as

in itself to demand attention, and interest in the disaster is further increased by the picturesque and choleric personalities of the two principals concerned in it.

Gen. William T. Sherman was the commander of the invading army, and Gen. Wade Hampton in immediate command of the Confederates who resisted Sherman's entry into Columbia.

No two men better typified their causes, their people and civilizations than these. Each was a gentleman of the noblest character, each a thorough soldier and distinguished citizen. Each is now held in the highest esteem in his own section, but is not so well regarded in the other parts of the country. Sherman and Hampton accuse each other of the destruction of Columbia.

To read the statement of either alone is to be convinced by its force and fierceness. To read both impels one to pause and consider. To read all the other data obtainable, finally, is to reach a conclusion, doubtless correct, and honorable to each of the exceedingly militant generals, whose splendid characters, heroic careers, and lovable personalities will eventually win and hold the admiration of the American people of all sections for all time to come.

The fact is the two men were much alike down to their cock fighting proclivities, and this explains much of their vehemence in speech in relation to each other.

The writer believes that both Sherman and Hampton were thoroughly sincere in what they uttered; that they had considerable foundation for their convictions, but that both failed to grasp the truth on the other's side, and were in consequence, more or less in error.

The writer, when a boy of fourteen, accompanied his father, Col. Michael C. Garber, Chief Quartermaster in the Field of the Army of the Mississippi (Sherman's army) during the March through the Carolinas. He is probably one of the few now surviving who were close to General Sherman and an eye witness of the capture and destruction of Columbia.

On the morning of February 17, 1865, we were in bivouac at Congaree Creek, where the fight had occurred the afternoon before. It was the morning of the most eventful day of the great March through the Carolinas. After breakfast we mounted our horses and rode into Camp Sorghum, which was very near our camp. It was a prison for Union officers. Second growth small timber covered the ground sparsely. Huts of the rudest description had been

constructed of the forest trees by our men and daubed with mud. They were simply roofs to keep off the rain. No floors, windows or doors. Like a tent fly they were open in front. The prisoners had been removed the day before but a few had burrowed in the earth and been covered with dirt by their comrades, and thus remained until the sound of Yankee voices served as Gabriel's horn to resurrect them.

Seventeen hundred officers had been confined here and in Columbia immediately before our arrival. General Sherman's staff was scattered that morning and did not ride out together with the cavalry escort. Moving alone along the State road, which, with the river front opposite Columbia, was held by our troops, I saw the beautiful city, so full of interest to the triumphant and magnificent army of 62,000 men—the army of which Gen. Joseph E. Johnston, C. S. A., wrote:

"I made up my mind that there had been no such army since the days of Julius Caesar."

The piers of the big bridge over the Congaree river were standing but no trace was left of the wood work, which was burned the day before. Upon the level plain leading to the bridge a large number of Union soldiers were standing, looking at the city, and the occasional Confederate soldiers to be seen crossing the streets at right angles with the river. Amongst our soldiers I soon perceived Uncle Billie on foot, walking amongst the boys. I overheard him talking familiarly to them. He asked about their socks and shoes; if their feet were in good condition; if they had plenty to eat and were well.

As was generally the case the General had an unlighted cigar in his mouth. One soldier remarked: "That's the same cigar he had at Atlanta." Another, observing me, trailing after the General, jerked out, with a significant nod: "There's too d——d much *infantry* in this army."

Turning away from the laughs that greeted this sally of wit at my expense, I rode my horse to the river to let him drink. He had no sooner buried his nose in the Congaree than Captain De Gres's battery upon the bank above discharged a twenty-pound Parrott gun and the animal leaped in the air. Fortunately I was able to hold my seat but I couldn't persuade the horse to drink after that.

Occasional shells were directed at the trains running supplies needed by our army out of Columbia right under our eyes. While

no shots were fired from Columbia at Sherman's army at this point, the Confederate batteries shelled our camps and wagon trains on the night of the 16th—thereby making legitimate our return fire. It was not indiscriminate, however, being confined to the railroad trains. No person was killed or wounded by it.

I next rode along the river bank several miles to a cotton mill, in front of which a pontoon bridge was being laid. Here I found the Generals Sherman and Howard and staffs.

General Sherman stood amongst his officers, and as we saw the Mayor of Columbia come out in a carriage and surrender the city to our skirmish line, said:

"It is no small thing to march into the heart of the enemy's country and take his capital."

This was uttered without boastfulness but with deep and evident satisfaction.

Generals Sherman and Howard, accompanied by their respective staffs and escorts, immediately crossed the two smaller rivers, the Saluda and Broad, which united form the Congaree river, and after a short ride entered Columbia.

In the center of the principal business street bales of cotton had been placed by the Confederates. When we passed them they were open and fire was burning deep down in their depths. One old fashioned fire engine in which the water was pumped by hand power and forced through the hose, was visible, which apparently had been operated by soldiers and negroes, who ceased their labor while the procession passed by.

A high wind was blowing and the cotton was torn loose and scattered amongst the branches of trees, where it hung in festoons and occasioned general comment as looking like big flakes in a snow storm.

The street was full of soldiers. Amongst them were many escaped Union prisoners, whose ragged clothes exposed the bare skin in places, and rags and skin and the men all over were one hue—a dirty dust color. I had never seen any human beings look so before, and I have never since, for that matter. These men had not washed, it was evident, during their confinement. They had hidden in the prison shacks or burrowed in the earth and been covered by comrades with dirt, when the exodus began to escape our army. Some of our men, thus attempting to regain their liberty, perished when the guards burned the prisons.

These survivors were frantic with joy over their escape and shouted plaudits to Sherman. "Greater than Napoleon," I recollect one fellow kept saying, "Greater than Caesar or Hannibal."

The negroes, too, were rapturous. Major George Ward Nichols, in his "Story of the Great March," records one ejaculating: "Tank de Almighty God, Mister Sherman has come at last. We knew it; we prayed for de day, and de Lord Jesus heerd our prayers. Mr. Sherman has come wid his company."

One fat old mammy embarrassed me very much but afforded amusement to the staff officers by exclaiming: "Bress Gawd, see the purty little Yankee."

I do not recollect seeing any of the white citizens of Columbia during Sherman's triumphal entry, although some of the colored people were so white I could not tell to which race they belonged.

Colonel Garber, as Chief Quartermaster, had orders from the general commanding to hunt up and secure valuable machinery, stores and supplies, and take charge of all captured property. He immediately entered upon that duty and I being left foot-loose walked back to look at the new state house and see what was going on.

This time I did see white citizens, for some stood at their front doors and offered liquor of various kinds to passers-by. I took none, but the soldiers did, and also broke into saloons and liquor houses to get it. There was wholesale looting of the stores going on. I entered but one, a hardware store, thinking I could get a pocket knife, but they were all gone. This store was being robbed by low whites and negroes of Columbia. They quarreled and as there were no soldiers in there at the time I was afraid and left.

I saw drunken Union soldiers lying asleep in stores, overcome with liquors, and I have no doubt a number of them were burned to death in the great conflagration of the night.

Major S. H. M. Byers, one of the Federal officers imprisoned in Columbia, and who concealed himself and escaped, in his army reminiscenses, records a report "that an explosion occurred in one house and that twenty-four soldiers, carousing there, were lost in the ruins."

My first recollection of the fire was of being awakened by my father and getting out of my comfortable bed reluctantly. The entire city seemed to be burning and the flames appeared to reach to the zenith. General Sherman and his entire staff, including my

father, were up and at work the rest of the night, protecting the citizens and giving them assistance. Wood's division had first occupied the town and Hazen's was ordered in. Troops traversed all the streets, company front, reaching from wall to wall or fence to fence, and arrested every soldier not in a regular command under an officer. Many soldiers were drunk, some were violent and a few criminal. Major Dayton, of General Sherman's Staff, and later of Cincinnati, shot one of our soldiers for attempting to assault a woman. Two men were killed, thirty wounded and 370 arrested during the cleaning-up. Very few crimes were committed against women.

Colonel Garber in his diary of the March says:

"The fire was terrible, the scenes too horrible to describe. Large quantities of whisky were found, which the men drank to an alarming extent. My estimate is that forty blocks were burned. So much for giving soldiers liquor."

"The large and valuable stores which I had secured were destroyed, to the great loss and detriment of the government."

The sack of the stores and the burning of the best portion of the city of Columbia is not to the credit of the Federal arms. Doubtless most of those who justified it at the time, when the passions of civil strife were raging, would condemn it now were they alive.

I have in my possession, through the courtesy of General Wade Hampton, a copy of his "Letter of June 24, 1873, with Appendix," and the "Report of Committee of Citizens of Columbia, May, 1866," upon the subject.

The pamphlet is a terrible indictment of General Sherman and his army. If read alone, or by those not witnesses of the occurrences, it would appear convincing—irrefutable.

But this pamphlet, and similar charges wherever and by whomsoever made, are not true and just. General Sherman did not intend to destroy Columbia. Had he felt it was a military necessity he would have burned the city in broad daylight, as he did Atlanta, and acknowledged it. The General's orders for the government of the troops while occupying Columbia, dated February 16, 1865, were in these words; page 277, General Order No. 26:

"General Howard will cross the Saluda and Broad rivers as near their mouths as possible, occupy Columbia, destroying the public buildings, railroad property, manufacturing and machine shops; but will spare libraries,

asylums and private dwellings. He will then move to Winnsboro, destroying, en route, utterly that section of the railroad. He will also cause all bridges, trestles, water tanks and depots on the railroad back to the Wateree to be burned, switches broken, and such other destruction as he can find time to accomplish consistent with proper celerity."

If any Federal officer is responsible for the loot and burning of Columbia, then, it is Gen. O. O. Howard, who was in immediate command, and whose orders forbade such destruction.

General Howard, above all the Federal generals, was distinguished for humanitarian impulses and religious convictions. It is impossible to believe he burned Columbia or connived at it. How then was Columbia burned? As a result of several unfortunate, coincident conditions, with an attendant division of responsibility. The high wind, the street full of cotton and its ignition, the absence of any fire department worthy of the name, the predominance of framed houses, the failure of the Confederate and also the Federal authorities to seize intoxicants, the hatred of South Carolina by all the Union soldiers as the author of secession, and last, but not least, the thirst of the escaped Union prisoners and local convicts for revenge.

Could you have seen those Union prisoners and heard their stories of needless cruelty and humiliation you could comprehend their frenzy, to avenge themselves and their comrades.

Columbia was the victim of the mistakes of the Confederates, the insufficient precautions of Mayor Goodwin and Generals Hampton and Howard, the rage and passion for plunder of soldiers of both armies, convicts, the lowest of the populace, and the vengeance of the Union soldiers. It was a deplorable and frightful crime but General William T. Sherman is not guilty as charged.

Col. G. A. Stone's brigade, which first occupied the city, was composed of Iowa regiments.

The Fifteenth Corps, commanded by Gen. John A. Logan, to which this brigade belonged, were as fine troops as ever lived. The Fifteenth and Seventeenth corps constituted the Army of the Tennessee, of which General Grant said:

"As an army it never sustained a single defeat during four years of war; every fortification which it assailed surrendered; every force arrayed against it was either defeated, captured or destroyed. No officer was ever assigned to the command of that army who had afterward to be relieved from duty or reduced to a lesser command. Such a history is not by accident."

Another writer has said:

"It numbers among its distinguished dead, Grant, Sherman, McPherson, Logan, McCook, Blair, Pope, Gresham, Hazen, and a host of others, whose names during the war were as familiar as household words.

"Marching over six thousand miles, it hewed its way through the very heart of the Confederacy, unfurled its victorious banners in the capitals of six Confederate states; and finally waved them in triumph over the birthplace of secession.

"It was the only Northern army whose commander was killed in battle, and the only one that never sustained a defeat."

It is inconceivable that a body of men with such a record should be deficient in morale and discipline. The army as a mass was not guilty. The crimes were committed by individuals, and compared to the thousands with whom they were mingled, but few in number.

During General Sherman's stay in Columbia he was constantly engaged in errands of courtesy and labors of mercy. He vacated the headquarters (the Blanton Duncan House) of his staff to admit women refugees from the disaster.

After the fire the local mills were occupied by the Union troops and flour and corn meal ground for the destitute citizens. When the army left the city these mills were spared and turned over, with quantities of grain, and 500 beeves to the municipal authorities; also 100 muskets and ammunition for their protection.

That General Sherman was opposed to plundering and burning private residences is evident from Special Field Orders number 119 and 120, dated respectively November 8 and 9, 1864. Foraging is restricted to parties under commissioned officers. "Soldiers must not enter the dwellings of the inhabitants, or commit any trespass," etc. "To corps commanders alone is intrusted the power to destroy mills, houses, cotton-gins," etc.

A few days out from Atlanta on the March to the Sea, General Sherman interpreted these orders, as he narrates in his *Memoirs*, as follows:

"It was at this very plantation that a soldier passed me with a ham on his musket, a jug of sorghum molasses under his arm, and a big piece of honey in his hand, from which he was eating, and, catching my eye, he remarked sotto voice and carelessly to a comrade, 'Forage liberally on the country,' quoting from my general orders. On this occasion, as on many others that fell under my personal observation, I reproved the man, explained that foraging must be limited to the regular parties properly detailed, and that all provisions thus obtained must be delivered to the

regular commissaries, to be fairly distributed to the men who kept their ranks."

General Sherman always held General Hampton and the civil authorities of Columbia responsible for the city's destruction. He censured General Hampton for ordering the cotton taken out of the warehouses and piled in the street. Why was this done if it was not preparatory to burning it?

General Hampton, in the pamphlet mentioned, "Burning of Columbia," admits that the cotton was by him, under direction from General Beauregard, ordered placed in vacant fields or lots to be burned, and that transportation being insufficient, it was placed in the street by the Confederate post commander, Major Allen J. Green. Subsequently, under direction of General Beauregard, Gen. Hampton had Capt. Rawlin Lowndes, A. A. G. issue an order that no cotton be burned.

General Sherman attributed the burning of the city also to the failure of the civil and military authorities of the Confederacy to destroy the large supplies of liquor before his army entered it.

General Sherman utters something by way of explanation, if not apology, for the destructiveness of his army on page 254 of his *Memoirs*, as follows:

"Somehow, our men had gotten the idea that South Carolina was the cause of all our troubles; her people were the first to fire on Fort Sumter, had been in a great hurry to precipitate our country into civil war; and therefore on them should fall the scourge of the war in its worst form. Taunting messages had also come to us, when in Georgia, to the effect that, when we should reach South Carolina, we would find a people less passive, who would fight us to the bitter end, daring us to come over, etc.; so that I saw and felt that we would be unable longer to restrain our men as we had done in Georgia.

"Personally I had many friends in Charleston, to whom I would gladly have extended protection and mercy, but they were beyond my personal reach, and I would not restrain the army lest its vigor and energy should be impaled; and I had every reason to expect bold and strong resistance at the many broad and deep rivers that lay across our path."

The first United States troops to enter Columbia were Colonel Stone's brigade, first division, 15th army corps, composed of Iowa regiments. Colonel Stone is therefore the best witness available as to conditions in the city when surrendered, and what occurred during the domination of the lawless elements.

In his report dated February 19, 1865, Colonel Stone says:

"We had arrived within about a mile of the city, when a carriage displaying a flag of truce approached containing Mr. Goodwin, mayor of Columbia, and the city aldermen, who came to offer terms of capitulation. I refused anything but an unconditional surrender, which, after a few words, he consented to and unconditionally surrendered the city of Columbia. I joined the party in the carriage, accompanied by Major Anderson, of the Fourth Iowa, and Captain Pratt, of General Logan's staff, and left the brigade under the temporary charge of Lieutenant-Colonel Jenkins, Thirty-first Iowa, and preceded the column about half a mile. When near the suburbs of the city I noticed some of the advanced skirmishers, say about fifteen in number, being driven back by apparently a battalion of rebel cavalry. I at once called a corporal and three men, who happened to be near me, and put the major and aldermen in the corporal's charge, and with Major Anderson took about forty of my flankers and advanced on the cavalry. The corporal was instructed that in case one man was killed or wounded, he should at once shoot the mayor and his party. Joining the retreating skirmishers with the forty flankers we speedily dispersed the rebel cavalry, having no more trouble in gaining the city. I proceeded to the state house with Captain Pratt and planted the first U. S. flag on that building.

"I was absent from the brigade about an hour in placing the flag on the state house, and when I rejoined my command found a great number of the men drunk. It was discovered that this was caused by hundreds of negroes who swarmed the streets on the approach of the troops and gave them all kinds of liquors from buckets, bottles, demijohns, etc. The men had slept none the night before, and but little the night before that, and many of them had no supper the night before, and none of them breakfast that morning, hence the speedy effect of the liquor. I forthwith ordered all the liquor destroyed, and saw fifteen barrels destroyed within five minutes after the order had been given.

"Brevet Major-General Woods now sent me word to guard the private property of the citizens and take possession of all the public buildings. I did so immediately upon receipt of the order, distributing my five regiments throughout the city and appointing Lieutenant-Colonel Jenkins, Thirty-first Iowa, provost-marshall. A number of buildings were fired during the early part of the evening, but the fire was promptly put out before it had gained much headway. A great many drunken men were now showing themselves in the streets from, I should think, every regiment of our corps, the Seventeenth Corps, and some even from General Kilpatrick's cavalry. My command was so scattered throughout the city that I found it necessary to have a stronger guard, and therefore applied through my acting assistant adjutant-general to Brevet Major-General Woods twice, once in writing, for one or two more regiments for patrolling the city, but received no reinforcements. About eight o'clock the city was fired in a number of places by some of our escaped prisoners and citizens (I am satisfied I can prove this), and some of the fire having originated in basements stored

full of cotton, it was impossible to extinguish it. The fire engines were ordered out, but the flames could not be stopped; the buildings were old, nearly all wooden ones, and the wind blowing almost a gale. At 8 p. m. I received orders that I was to be relieved by Brevet Brigadier-General Woods and I sent the brigade to camp about one mile out of town, but remained in the city myself, working all night to assist in extinguishing the fire."

The troops which relieved Colonel Stone were the First Brigade, First Division, 15th Army Corps, commanded by Brevet Brigadier General William B. Woods. The Twelfth Indiana, Colonel Reuben Williams, was one of the regiments. The Second Brigade of the same division was also summoned. It was commanded by an Indiana man, Col. Robert F. Catterson. In this force were the 97th and 100th Indiana Infantry, under the commands of Lt. Col. Aden G. Cavins and Major Ruel M. Johnson respectively.

The Second Division of the same corps was also ordered into the city. In its Second Brigade was the 83rd Indiana commanded by Captain Charles W. White. In the Third Brigade was the 99th Indiana, Captain Josiah Farrar. All these regiments were infantry. Indiana thus furnished five of the regiments which maintained discipline and restored order.

The official reports made at the time by Generals William B. Woods, Charles R. Woods, William B. Hazen, John A. Logan, Oliver O. Howard and William T. Sherman, all of whom were in the city, confirm Colonel Stone in his observations and conclusions, and all agree in mentioning liquor as the primary cause of the conflagration.

Brevet Major-General C. R. Woods also attributes the origin of the fire to "Villains freed from the town prison."

Brevet Brigadier General W. B. Woods declares: "I am satisfied by the statements made to me by respectable citizens of the town that the fire was first set by the negro inhabitants."

Major General O. O. Howard reported the fire was caused by liquor "given escaped prisoners, convicts from the penitentiary just broken open, army followers and drunken soldiers."

Major General Logan, in his report, said, "the citizens had received our soldiers with bucketfuls of liquor \* \* \* and for awhile all control was lost over the disorganized mass."

Major General Henry W. Slocum, in his article on "Sherman's March from Savannah to Bentonville," in *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, written in 1884, remarks:

"I do not believe General Sherman countenanced or was in any degree responsible for it. I believe the immediate cause of the disaster was a free use of whisky, which was supplied to the soldiers by the citizens with great liberality."

The officers of the army of the United States, if betrayed upon this one occasion, had no disposition to suffer a repetition of the calamity, and upon the next day, February 13th, Maj.-Gen. O. O. Howard, issued Special Field Order Number 42, from which the annexed paragraph is quoted:

"It having been brought to the attention of the commanding general that certain lawless and evil-disposed soldiers of this command have threatened to destroy the remainder of this city with fire, it is ordered that all commanding officers and provost-marshals use the utmost vigilance by establishing sufficient guards and patrols to prevent at all cost, even to the taking the life of any refractory soldier, a recurrence of the horrors of last night. Maj. Gen. F. P. Blair, commanding the Seventeenth Army Corps, will assign an officer to command of that part of the city northeast of Taylor street. To Brevet Brigadier-General W. B. Woods is assigned the command of that portion of the city southeast of Taylor street. They will appoint provost-marshals, who will be authorized to call upon the corps commander for sufficient force to prevent burning, pillaging, and all other acts subversive of good order and military discipline."

Before dismissing the question of the guilt for the burning of Columbia it should be recalled that enormous and devastating conflagrations occurred in Charleston, South Carolina, and Richmond, Virginia, during their evacuation by Confederate troops and before a hated Yankee had entered their corporation lines. If the Confederate troops or citizens thus burned two of their own principal cities why not a third?

Moreover, it is well known the Confederate people were often robbed and burned out by their own lawless troops. The identical cavalry under Hampton, which were the last Confederates to leave the unfortunate city of Columbia, were under charges of misconduct preferred by Southern citizens.

The following document from *Official Records*, Series I, Volume XLVII, page 1203, is to the point:

"Adjutant and Inspector General's Office,  
"Richmond, Virginia, February 16, 1865.

"Col. E. E. Portlock, Assistant Inspector-General:

"Colonel—Representations have been made from so many quarters prejudicial to the character of Wheeler's cavalry as to make it desirable

that an examination should be made respecting their foundation, as, if true, they are calculated (as they have been said to have done) to produce disaffection amongst the people and to bring reproach upon our arms. Of course the remarks and instructions are confidential, your order for the inspection being sufficient to secure you the necessary facilities.

"I am, colonel, respectfully, your obedient servant,

"R. H. CHILTON,

"Assistant Adjutant and Inspector General."

In a pamphlet entitled *The Sack and Destruction of Columbia*, William Gilmore Simms, a citizen of Columbia, and in the city at the time of the fire, states on the night of February 15 (before Sherman's army reached the city) there was riotous conduct, a number of highway robberies, and stores were broken open and robbed.

"The stores of merchants and planters, trunks of treasure, wares and goods of fugitives were so recklessly plundered that a fire broke out at the South Carolina railroad depot." (Simms.)

Major Chamblis, of the Confederate army, wrote:

"The straggling cavalry and rabble were stripping the warehouses and railroad depots. The city was in the wildest terror."

The Richmond (Va.) *Whig* of March 7, 1865, printed a letter from a correspondent saying:

"A party of Wheeler's cavalry, accompanied by their officers, dashed into town (February 16), tied their horses and as systematically as if they had been bred to the business, proceeded to break into stores along Main street and rob them of their contents."

All these outrages, pillagings and fires, mark you, were perpetrated by Confederate soldiers and citizens before a single Yankee had entered the city.

Returning now to Columbia when the Union soldiers entered it.

Inasmuch as the cotton bales were placed in the streets to be burned by order of General Beauregard, and considering the character of General Wheeler's cavalry as above portrayed, why is not the testimony of the Union generals and officials credible, to the effect that the cotton was burning when they entered the city, and doubtless set afire by the retreating Confederates? It will also be recalled these troops violated the rules of civilized warfare by resisting the advance of Colonel Stone, after the surrender of the city by the Mayor.

Finally, James Ford Rhodes, in his *History of the United States, 1850 to 1877*, remarks:

"The members of the British and American Mixed Commission (an Englishman, an American and the Italian minister at Washington) having to adjudicate on claims for 'property alleged to have been destroyed by the burning of Columbia, on the allegation that that city was wantonly fired by the army of General Sherman either under his orders or with his consent and permission,' disallowed all the claims, 'all the commissioners agreeing.' While they were not called upon to deliver a formal opinion in the case, the American agent was advised 'that the commissioners were unanimous in the conclusion that the conflagration which destroyed Columbia was not to be ascribed to either the intention or default of either the Federal or Confederate officers.' "

Columbia had a population of 8,000 people, the majority of whom were negroes. But the town was rich, full of refugees and their choicest possessions.

Eighty-four of the 124 blocks of the city, containing over 500 buildings and embracing the entire business quarter, were burned. The old state house, containing the legislative library of 25,000 volumes, five churches, the Ursuline convent, and the railroad depots were consumed.

The library and collection of paintings, engravings, Southern fossils, sharks' teeth, relics of aboriginal Mexico and the United States, historical documents of the Revolution, of the antiquarian and naturalist, Dr. Gibbes, were also destroyed.

Amongst the property destroyed by order of General Sherman after the fire were: quartermaster stores, printing and engraving departments, 25 powder mills, machine shops, and armory of the Confederate government. Nineteen locomotives—box cars, 1,000 bales of cotton, and all railroad buildings. Smoke stacks of factories were thrown over.

I learn from Hon. L. A. Griffith, Mayor of Columbia, that he is unable to find that any estimate was ever made of the aggregate losses. I should think five million dollars a fair estimate of the losses, public and private.

It is highly gratifying to me, a witness of Columbia's destruction, to know that a modern, growing and prosperous city has risen from the ashes of the burned town.

The Columbia of 1915 is unsurpassed in location, advantages of every description, and progressiveness by any municipality in the country. Its population is seven times greater than in 1865. I am sure every surviving member of Sherman's army wishes it and its people every blessing and happiness.

## ADDENDA

From the General Sherman wrongfully described as a ruthless destroyer let us turn to an unconscious revelation of his heart of sympathy and kindness, shown in orders he need not have written, and in care of men of heroic mould who knew him affectionately as Uncle Billie.

"Headquarters Military Division of the Mississippi,  
"In the Field, on the Raleigh Road, March 15, 1865, 12 M.  
(Received at 7 P. M.)

"Captain Keyser, U. S. Steamer Eolus, Fayetteville:

"Captain—I have no doubt, also, that a good many of our sick and footsore men will hang about the landing; they must not be allowed to suffer, though their officers should not have provided for them. If you find any such clinging about the landing, have them camp near your boat on this bank, and send word to General Dodge, chief quartermaster, to send a boat for them. If Colonel Garber, my chief quartermaster, is there, show him this letter, and he will attend to the details referred to in the last part of this letter, but if Colonel Garber is not there, I have no other alternative but to ask your kind assistance.

"Yours truly,  
"W. T. SHERMAN, Major-General."

Wade Hampton was the idol of the slave holding aristocracy of the South. His grandfather was a soldier of the Revolution under Sumter and Marion and rose to the rank of major-general in the war of 1812. He became immensely wealthy in land speculations and owned 3,000 slaves. The estate thus inherited by Wade Hampton of the Civil War period and his social status rendered him one of the acknowledged leaders of the Southern people. He was a brave soldier and was wounded three times in battle. He was a politician and led the white people of South Carolina in overthrowing the State government instituted in the process of reconstruction. Later he was a United States Senator from South Carolina. Senator Hampton was an orator also and always greatly admired and beloved in the South.

Colonel Michael C. Garber, Chief Quartermaster in the Field of the Military District of the Mississippi, as will be noted, was in charge of all property seized for the United States government in Columbia. Colonel Garber went into the United States army from Indiana but was a native of Virginia. He participated in the campaigns of Mill Spring, Cumberland Gap, Vicksburg, Texas, Red River, Atlanta and Sherman's March. He was continued in the

service after the war as Chief Quartermaster of the Department of North Carolina, and was tendered the position of Assistant Quartermaster in the Regular Army but preferred civil life.

"This responsible labor is under the charge of Colonel Garber, a gentleman of large heart and fertile brain, who has acted as chief quartermaster for the army during this campaign."—MAJOR GEORGE WARD NICHOLS, in *The Story of the Great March*.

"I at once appointed General Reuben Williams, Twelfth Indiana Infantry, provost-marshal of the post (Columbia) and by means of his efficiency and energy, and that of the officers and men under my command, was enabled to preserve comparative quiet and good order in the city while occupied by our army."—BREVET BRIGADIER-GENERAL WILLIAM B. WOODS, in official report dated Near Goldsborough, N. C., March 26, 1865.

General Williams was an Indiana newspaper man, founder and editor of the *Northern Indianian*, published at Warsaw. He was trusted by Sherman and Howard and was sent on a raid with mounted infantry to release, if possible, 20,000 Union prisoners held at Florence, near Columbia.

# The Election of 1852 in Indiana

BY DALE BEELER, Indiana University.

## I. INTRODUCTION

The campaign and election, both national and State, in 1852 seemed most uneventful and almost wholly lacking in popular interest. There was no indication that the day was near at hand when there would flame up once more for a final struggle all the latent fury and hatred born of sectional strife. This brief period of political warfare, 1852, is then worthy of more than the passing note which historians generally accord it. The sharp engagements, those political skirmishes which occurred between the forces of the parties back in the States, as in our own State of Indiana, and the newspaper warfare conducted by the press of each party, all suggest the desirability of a more detailed account than has been given in the past. In order to bring about a clearer understanding and a better knowledge of the political events and times of 1852, and immediately following, it will be necessary in this account to review the period of the preceding four years. In doing this I shall use press quotations freely in view of the fact that the newspapers of that time are the chief sources of this brief history.

The issue of the campaign of 1852 was in truth a heritage from the preceding administration, or rather, this was a campaign without any issue other than that of keeping out of politics the only question really before the public, Slavery and the Compromise of 1850. Both Whigs and Democrats desired that question to be considered as settled. It was a bitter and nauseating dose for the northern Whigs, but they took their medicine, even if it did contain the potion which was soon to prove fatal to their party. The Wilmot Proviso, the Omnibus Bill, and the Compromise of 1850 struck the Free Soil people in Indiana particularly hard, and the battle in 1850 had raged over Indiana with unusual energy and vigor. Partisan conflicts, during the time while the Compromise was agitating the public, were frequent and bitterly fought. No wonder, then, that when it seemed over, people showed relief. Men would condemn their own partisans for re-opening the agitation; and those of one

party applauded those of another when they sought to secure the "finality" of the adjustment. In 1850, during the heat of the campaign, when it seemed that neighbors were ready to spring at each other's throat, Governor Wright, an Indiana Democrat, invited Governor Crittenden, a Kentucky Whig, to visit him, and they stood on the capitol lawn at Indianapolis, with arms locked and hands entwined, Governor Wright solemnly declaring that he "knew no North, no South, nothing but the common brotherhood of all working for the common good." The press, far and wide, alluded to this noble example of the two western governors, of different party beliefs, as one which showed the general sentiments. If Governor Wright did not know any North, or South, there were many Whigs who did, though they were keeping quiet.

Soon after the Compromise measures were disposed of, the party organs began to cast about for presidential candidates who might be trusted to maintain the intent and purpose of the adjustment. Early in 1851 the *Indiana State Journal*, the Whig State organ, declared for Gen. Winfield Scott, the Great Pacifier by the use of the sword, as a man whose patriotism and integrity were unquestionable. He was doubly worthy in that like Taylor he was a military man. The Whigs lacked foresight enough to see that war-record candidates can not always win. An outspoken man, one who would declare himself unequivocally opposed to further agitation of the Slavery issue, was the kind the country wanted. Even the *State Journal* recognized the fact that the man and not the issues would play the greater part in the campaign of 1852.<sup>1</sup> Evidence of the lack of popular interest in political issues is found in the *Journal's* opinion as expressed a few days before the State election of 1851, that at "no time in the State since 1840 has so little interest been felt in relation to a general election as at the present time. A light vote may be expected."<sup>2</sup>

By the latter part of 1851, the Free Soilers, usually called Free Democrats, were found intermixed with the Democrats, supporting Democratic candidates in some instances. The Whig papers of the State called the Democratic a party of Abolitionists and Secessionists, combining the extremists of the Giddings and Jeff Davis types. In the fall elections of this year the reunited Democracy was successful generally over the Whigs, who ascribed their defeat to the

<sup>1</sup> Woodrow Wilson, *A History of the American People*, Vol. 4, pp. 156-57.

<sup>2</sup> *Indiana State Journal*, July 22, 1851.

State issues and likened their apparent loss of popular favor to that of 1839 when they were also beaten in the fall elections, but successful in the following year in the National contest.

Toward the close of 1851, the *Lafayette Courier* and the *Indiana State Sentinel*, both Democratic papers, declared that they would support only sound and consistent Democrats as their nominees, men opposed to further agitation of the slavery question, in favor of the Compromise measures, including the Fugitive Slave Law. The *Lafayette Courier* declared for General Joseph Lane, of Indiana, for President, but said it would not support his too liberal views on the Fugitive Slave Law.<sup>3</sup>

## II. SIDE ISSUES

Since it seemed to be the universal desire of all citizens to avoid all comment of any kind on the slavery question, there had to be other interests for them to discuss. The greatest of these side issues or interests which helped to allay the heat caused by intersectional dispute, was the cause of the freedom of Hungary as presented by the Hungarian patriot, Kossuth, who traversed the country in the early part of 1852, visiting on his journey several towns in Indiana. Interest in the cause was widespread in Indiana. The two party organs, especially, the *State Journal* and the *State Sentinel*, vied with each other in extending a welcome to the distinguished visitor. Each paper claimed to be the special apostle of Freedom, the Whigs claiming credit for all previous aid to Hungary and for Texan Independence. The *Sentinel*, in a burst of eloquence, answered: "What party is it that dares have the magnanimity to utter the sentiment to the broad world, that 'all men have the right upon their own soil to be free to govern themselves?' Is it the Whig party? No. They say we have no right to open our mouths. They, therefore, sympathize with the master who forges upon his serfs the iron collar of slavery. They sympathize with the splendor of the court and the golden drapery of the monarch."<sup>4</sup> By the middle of the summer, Kossuth had outstayed his welcome and his ardent followers in Indiana soon fell away from the worthy cause.

Another issue, more permanent and lasting than the preceding, was the temperance question which was at that time burning hotter than it has at any time subsequently. The agitation spread to the

<sup>3</sup> *Indiana State Journal*, Nov. 18, 1851.

<sup>4</sup> *Indiana State Journal*, March 28, 1852.

ranks of all political parties. Democrats, Whigs and Free Soilers alike, heaped curses and condemnations on the liquor traffic and its attendant evils. Men by the hundreds were signing temperance pledges, and even Governor Wright himself subscribed to one. Things looked bad for John Barleycorn, and had the slavery question not interposed again soon, he would have shortly gone to perdition. An attempt was made to have the General Assembly enact a "Maine Liquor Law," but it was not successful. The special election for State senator in Marion county to fill Nicholas McCarty's vacancy, was fought on the temperance issue. Although defeated, the cause of "no license" polled a good vote. All the liquor shops in Bloomington had stopped voluntarily, and petitions were being circulated there asking the General Assembly to pass the Maine Law. The temperance issue was kept out of the State party platforms because the politicians were opposed to it.

A silent but powerfully effective force which was making public opinion throughout Indiana and the entire nation, was Mrs. Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which came out in the spring of 1852. From the very first, the book enjoyed an unprecedented sale in this State. The effect which the story produced was not visible then, but was clearly evident a few years later.

The last important factor which tended strongly to draw away public interest from the politics of the time was the extensive construction of railroads and other internal improvements throughout the State. Great numbers of the people were engaged in the work, newspapers commended the work and were full of news concerning the different roads under construction. The State government owned stock in the Madison and Indianapolis Railway. The people were too busy building railroad lines to be interested in politics, since, to most of them, the great political questions were satisfactorily settled.

### III. THE "FINALITY" IN INDIANA

The "finality" of the Compromise measures of 1850, for the accomplishment of which both Whigs and Democrats bent unceasing efforts, was the one big bone of contention throughout the entire campaign of 1852. The supporters of those measures deluded themselves with the idea that they were a "finality," that by them all matters of difference were decided, or would be decided by the principles which they purported to establish. The Democrats

acquiesced quite generally in the so-called settlement and reunited to carry most of the fall elections of 1851. Many of the Whigs bravely tried to accept the adjustment as final, but there were others who could not support them and were left to flounder around without party affiliations until the advent of a new party which would take up their cause.

The organs of both parties expressed the opinions of their followers on the "finality." The *Indiana State Journal*, along with several other Whig papers of the State, gave wide prominence to and strong approval of the following statement on "The Finality," published by the Philadelphia *Ledger* in answer to a resolution introduced in Congress by Mr. Foote, of Mississippi. The purpose was to have Congress declare the Compromise measures a final settlement of the slavery question:

"Is there any 'finality' in legislation, as asserted by Mr. Foote's Resolution in the Senate, on the Compromise Measures Laws? By what authority can a resolution of this Congress bind the people forever—when the Constitution itself does not possess that power? Laws only operate until they are repealed, and the power to repeal laws is always active and alive in the sovereignty of the people. The Constitution being open to amendment or total abolishment, it is manifestly idle to affirm that any law is a 'finality.' Arrest thought, extinguish freedom of opinion, shackle liberty of speech and put down the freedom of the press, by a resolution! No, no, Mr. Foote, the sovereign power of the people has no 'finality.'"<sup>5</sup>

A few days later, the Democratic *Indiana State Sentinel*, in reply to the Whig statement that not even the Southern Democrats would agree to the finality, said:

"The efforts of the Whig press to create the impression that the Southern Democracy is not willing to acquiesce in the compromise, and faithfully to execute and maintain its part, may for a time feed their distempered hopes of success through a division of the Democracy, but that is all. In 1852 they will more fully realize the strength of the bond that binds the Democracy in the different sections of our Union together."<sup>6</sup>

Then the *Sentinel* offered proof which the State Democratic press soon after gave wide publicity. They quoted the following from the Southern Rights paper, the *Savannah Georgian*:

"Whatever may have been the feelings of Southern Democrats, when the compromise was first adopted, we say what we know when we affirm that they 'do intend to acquiesce in it.' Those who felt most indignant

<sup>5</sup> *Indiana State Journal*, Jan. 9, 1852.

<sup>6</sup> *Indiana State Sentinel*, Jan. 12, 1852.

at its passage have yielded to the popular will, and are generally disposed to make the 'adjustment' (if the North will consent) a final settlement of the slavery question. The strongest evidence of their acquiescence is the fact that they are preparing to give their support to the nominee of the Baltimore convention, though feeling assured that, whether he be Douglas, Buchanan, Marcy, Butler, King or Cass, he will be opposed to disturbing the 'adjustment' which has been made."

Early in February, 1852, the Whigs of Laporte county held their county convention, and to make known their position on the Compromise measures, they adopted resolutions of this tenor:

"Resolved, That our position remains unchanged; no interference with domestic policy or peculiar institutions of sister states; no extension of slave territory; no diffusion of an institution which it is believed tends to degrade labor and blight industry, over more of the national soil than it now covers; no countenance of Disunion sentiments whether at the North or South; but devotion to our glorious Union in any event, under all circumstances, despite all contingencies.

"Resolved, That although we may not agree upon each and every one of the measures passed by the last Congress known as the Compromise Measures, yet we regard them as designed to settle the question specified in them, and that we are of the opinion that this settlement should remain undisturbed until time and experience shall show that a change or modification of them is necessary to avoid evasions or abuse."<sup>7</sup>

The Laporte Whigs were thus good examples of Finality Whigs who were courageously struggling to support the compromise principles, after having tried to make the work more attractive by adding a few meaningless phrases of their own to the original agreement.

The effort to have the Compromise Measures recognized as a finality was carried to Congress by several agitators, among them Dr. Graham N. Fitch of the Lafayette district. The *State Journal* condemned that gentleman and his work in the following language:

"If it were not for the actions of a few restless politicians, in a very short time there would be nothing said about the slavery questions settled by the last Congress. The people are disposed to let them remain just where they are; but these men are determined to bring them up again. Foote introduced resolutions in the Senate, for the purpose of opening up their agitation, and more recently Dr. Fitch of our own State, followed Foote's example by moving to suspend the rules, to allow him to introduce them in the House. This motion was voted for by such men as Giddings on the one side and the ultra-slavery men on the other side. Nothing could be done to give greater satisfaction to such men than the agitation of these

<sup>7</sup> *Indiana State Journal*, Feb. 17, 1852.

questions. They are out of their element when not engaged in these exciting questions. They know very well that without such agitation they would soon lose their seats in Congress, and hence the course pursued by them."<sup>8</sup>

And here the *Journal* quotes the Cincinnati *Gazette*, which takes a more positive stand on the issue, and after severely arraigning Foote and Fitch, continues thus, boldly:

"Yet these men while they strongly deprecate 'agitation' are all the time agitating as far as in their power. \* \* \* Has not the South got what it asked for? Is not the North submissive and quiet? Where then the necessity for a 'finality?' The thing is preposterous. We want no 'declarating' enactments; we want no legislative expressions of 'finality'; we want no 'pledge' to others or to ourselves, that our antecedents shall be out succeedents. We abide by 'the compromises of the Constitution;' we abide by the compromises of the National Legislature. But we run into no 'finalities,' merely for the sake of ourselves, and we will be forced into none for the purpose of pleasing our enemies."

These papers voiced the sentiments of great numbers of Whigs who thought the Compromise was bad enough for them to have to swallow without the "finality" for a chaser.

In the State campaign, no very great importance was given the "finality" question. Only the politicians and newspapers continued to harp on it, while the great mass of voters were satisfied to let the Compromises rest as the finality. Nicholas McCarty, the Whig candidate for governor, in a speech at Rushville soon after the opening of the campaign, said that although he did not think the Fugitive Slave Law, in its details, what it ought to have been, he thought it should have a fair trial and remain as it was, until time and experience should demonstrate the necessity of a change. He did not want to see the slavery question agitated any longer and he refrained from mentioning the question of "finality."

On April 5, 1852, in accordance with the desires of politicians in both Whig and Democratic parties, particularly Southern, the House of Representatives by a vote of 101 ayes to 64 noes, adopted the Finality Resolution. The resolution read thus:

"Resolved, That we recognize the binding efficacy of the Compromises of the Constitution—and we believe it to be the determination of the people generally, as we hereby declare it to be ours individually, to abide by such compromises, and to sustain the laws necessary to carry them out—the provision for delivery of fugitive slaves, and the act of the last Congress for that purpose, included; and that we deprecate all further agitation

<sup>8</sup> *Indiana State Journal*, March 13, 1852.

of the questions growing out of that act of the last Congress, known as the Compromise Act—and, of questions generally connected with the institution of slavery, as unnecessary, useless and dangerous."

The sectional vote on the Finality Resolution was as follows:

Yea—Northern Whigs,	7;	Southern Whigs,	20
Yea—Northern Democrats,	35;	Southern Democrats,	39
Noe—Northern Whigs,	29;	Southern Whigs,	1
Noe—Northern Democrats,	21;	Southern Democrats,	10
Independents, 3.			

Most of the Indiana delegation being Democrats, the representatives from this State supported the measure. Hon. S. W. Parker, of Connersville, the Whig representative from the 4th District of Indiana, declared, in a speech in Congress at this time, that he was a compromise man, and expressed his determination to support no man who was not publicly known to be in favor of the compromise measures. He said that he felt confident that the Whig Convention would set the public mind at rest in regard to the subject. Parker was not a finality man and did not hesitate to say he was opposed to caucus action on making the "finality" a law.<sup>9</sup> The *Indiana State Journal* gave the Whigs who took part in the finality caucus at Washington, a "richly deserved and well put on castigation," in the language of one of its exchanges. The *Journal* said:

"From the frequency with which the compromise is invoked a person might infer that the adjustment is in jeopardy. Nobody expects Congress to disturb it, and if Congress will only let it alone it must be safe. \* \* \* The northern Freesoil Whigs have acquiesced in it and are willing to abide by it, but as it was rather bitter for them to swallow two years ago, they see no reason why they should be called upon to repeat the swallowing process every week or so. If the compromise measures are not irreversible law, we don't see how they can become so. If they do not now constitute a 'finality,' they never will."<sup>10</sup>

Further, the *Indiana State Journal* declared itself in warm accord with the following expression of the *Cleveland Herald* and recommended that agitators in the State give it due consideration:<sup>11</sup>

"There is a growing disposition everywhere to let compromise measures stand on their own merits as other enactments do. The idea of affirming by resolution, that which is already the law of the land, is too absurd to

<sup>9</sup> *Indiana State Journal*, May 10, 1852.

<sup>10</sup> *Indiana State Journal*, May 4, 1852.

<sup>11</sup> *Indiana State Journal*, May 14, 1852.

be long entertained by anybody save such demagogues as Foote of Mississippi, or other Southern agitators who must have footballs to kick for notoriety's sake. We are glad to see the signs of the times strongly indicate that no 'finality' resolution will be entertained in the National Conventions of the Whig or Democratic parties. All sectional issues can and should be avoided. The Democratic State Conventions held in Virginia, Georgia, Louisiana, Florida, California, Ohio, Michigan, and some other States, when setting forth their principles by resolutions, have been silent on the question of the finality of the Compromise."

About this time the Logansport *Democratic Pharos* gloried exultingly in the fact that the Democratic State Convention of Illinois spoke out decidedly in favor of any measure designed to effect more completely the intent and purpose of the compromise measures. The Indiana Democratic State Convention had been held several months previous to the "finality" agitation and consequently was silent on that question. There is every reason to believe that, had the opportunity been afforded, the Democracy of Indiana would have gone to any extremity necessary to show its favor toward the strict maintenance of the principles embodied in the compromise legislation of two years before.

The presidential candidates were silent on the "finality" question, but there is no ground to believe that General Franklin Pierce would have opposed such a measure. He was known to be a pro-slavery man, but he kept quiet on the subject, being usually spoken of as "an early friend of the adjustment measures." He stood for "the Compromise Measures of 1850 and the New Hampshire Democracy which had fixed its seal of emphatic approbation upon those measures. No North, no South, no East, no West, under the Constitution; but a sacred maintenance of the common bond and true devotion to the common brotherhood." This was his personal platform.<sup>12</sup>

General Winfield Scott, the Whig presidential candidate, was chosen mainly for the reason that he maintained a non-committal attitude on the slavery question, particularly the compromise measures. He always spoke in a conciliatory manner on the question, but judiciously refrained from openly declaring his position. He spoke several times in this State, yet nothing could be learned regarding his belief upon the great question of the day.<sup>13</sup> Back in 1848 he had uttered his last public words on slavery, in a letter which said:

<sup>12</sup> New Albany *Daily Ledger*, June 12, 1852.

<sup>13</sup> J. F. Rhodes, *History of the U. S.*, Vol. I, Chap. III, p. 276, Scott in Indiana.

"There is, in the order of Providence, no evil without some compensating benefit. The bleeding African was torn from his savage home by his ferocious neighbors, sold into slavery and cast upon this continent. Here in the mild South, the race has wonderfully multiplied, compared with anything ever known in barbarous life."

This was the last time, previous to the election, and one of very few times in his life, that he expressed his opinion on the subject of slavery. He was not going to be troubled by the compromise measures, or at least not by their "finality."

Long before the end of the campaign the "finality" question had ceased to be an issue, if it ever was.<sup>15</sup> The great majority of the voters looked upon the "finality" as a settled fact, as much as compromise principles, if they were not one and the same thing, with a common end to a common purpose.<sup>16</sup>

#### IV. THE STATE CONVENTIONS

The State Conventions of the political parties in Indiana were regarded by the press of the time as the commencement of the campaign. For several months previous to the Democratic State Convention, the Logansport *Democratic Pharos* had been running in large type, at the head of the political news column, their choice for Governor and President with summarized platform in this style:<sup>17</sup>

"The Constitution and its Currency. For Governor, Joseph A. Wright; for President, Lewis Cass."<sup>17</sup>

The *Pharos* was advocating the Jacksonian hard money, made according to the laws of the Constitution. Wright was at this time governor of the State and a candidate for re-election under the new Constitution which had lately become effective. The Democratic press of the State had no other choice for the nomination.

The *Indiana State Sentinel*, generally recognized as the leading Democratic State organ, insisted strongly, previous to the Convention, that the State Convention should endorse the compromise measures. To this, the Terre Haute *Journal* answered that it was decidedly opposed to injecting this subject into the creed of the party.<sup>18</sup> It declared that:

"By adhering strictly to that great first principle laid down by the fathers of our political creed, of making the contests waged by Democracy

<sup>15</sup> Johnson-Woodburn *American Political History*, Vol. II, p. 197.

<sup>16</sup> *Constitutional History of U. S.*, VonHoist, 1850-54. Vol. IV, pp. 136-39.

<sup>17</sup> Logansport *Democratic Pharos*, Jan. 21, 1852.

<sup>18</sup> *Indiana State Journal*, Feb. 3, 1852.

the contests for principles, and not for individuals, we have little to fear from the various combinations that may be brought against her."

The Democratic State Convention of 1852 met February 24, in the Masonic Hall at Indianapolis. There seemed to be about as much enthusiasm as on previous occasions of the kind, with speech-making and a large attendance which the Whigs, in their reports, greatly belittled, and which the Democrats considerably exaggerated. Mr. Robert Dale Owen proposed Joseph A. Wright as a candidate for re-election and he was given the nomination by acclamation. The convention then adopted resolutions endorsing the compromise measures, notwithstanding the predictions to the contrary of the *Lafayette Courier*, the *Indiana Statesman* and other Democratic papers of Free Soil belief. The ticket which the Democrats placed in the field was as follows:<sup>19</sup>

Governor, Joseph A. Wright, Parke County; Lieutenant-Governor, A. P. Willard, Floyd County; Secretary of State, Captain Nehemiah Hayden, Rush county; Auditor of State, John P. Dunn, Dearborn county; Treasurer of State, Dr. Elijah Newland, Washington county; for Supreme Court Judges, 1st District, W. Z. Stuart, Cass county; 2d District, Andrew Davison, Decatur county; 3d District, Samuel E. Perkins, Marion county; 4th District, Addison L. Roache, Parke county; Supreme Court Reporter, Horace E. Carter, Montgomery county; Clerk of Supreme Court, William B. Beach, Boone county; State Superintendent of Public Instruction, William C. Larrabee, Putnam county.

A full electoral ticket was nominated, with John Pettit, of Lafayette, and James H. Lane, of Lawrenceburg, as State Electors. Lane was also candidate for Congress in the Fourth District and had as prominent fellow congressional candidates W. H. English, of Lexington, in the Second District, and Thomas A. Hendricks, of Shelbyville, in the Sixth (Marion county) District.

In the foregoing list of Democratic State nominees will be found the names of most of the leading Democratic politicians of the State at that time. With a few exceptions all of the nominees were from the southern part of the State, south of Indianapolis. The Democrats of the northern part of the State had sacrificed their availability as candidates because of their strong Free Soil sentiments. The politicians almost completely ignored the Democrats of the north part of the State in the selection of State candidates. Gov-

<sup>19</sup> *Indiana State Sentinel*, May 11, 1852.

ernor Wright was somewhat of a Free Soiler himself, being a leader of the opposition to Senator Jesse Bright and Dr. G. N. Fitch. Mr. Perkins, candidate for judge of the Supreme Court, later became Professor of Law at Indiana University, also an alumnus and trustee. As a whole, the ticket was what in this day would be called a machine made ticket.

The Whigs, before they held their State Convention, were all silent as to their probable candidate for governor or any State office. Very few of their county conventions endorsed any candidate for any office except General Scott for President. The Whig press also failed to reveal the identity of the man who was to redeem the State from its alleged corruption. The Democratic press frequently remarked that the Whigs would not nominate a gubernatorial candidate because no one wanted the nomination. About a month previous to the Convention, the *Indiana State Journal* addressed its readers in the following manner:

"The leaders of the Democracy in the city doubt whether the Whigs can get anyone willing to run for governor. The Whigs have it in their power to redeem this State from the hands of those who have been squandering the people's money with utmost recklessness the past six years, and they intend doing so."<sup>20</sup>

That is only an example of the mock-confidence to which the Whigs were wont to resort during the entire campaign, even up until authentic returns of the election came in. To continue with a better example, the *State Journal*, a month later, said:

"The Whig State Convention will assemble in this city on February 26. The election next October will be the most important ever held in the State. Preceding as it does, the Presidential election a few weeks, its result will exert an influence on that election. With a strong State and Electoral ticket, the State can and will be redeemed at the approaching elections."<sup>21</sup>

The Hendricks county Whigs recommended Henry S. Lane, of Crawfordsville, for governor, and General Scott and John J. Crittenden for President and Vice-President. The Danville *Advertiser* then asserted: "Give us such a ticket and we will flax out Locofocoism next fall."<sup>22</sup>

The Whig State Convention of 1852 met on February 26, in the Hall of Representatives of the State Capitol at Indianapolis, but,

<sup>20</sup> *Indiana State Journal*, Jan. 16, 1852.

<sup>21</sup> *Indiana State Journal*, Feb. 14, 1852.

<sup>22</sup> *Danville Advertiser*, Feb. 18, 1852.

owing to the large attendance, adjourned to the Masonic Hall, which, with a capacity of 1,500, was fully taxed to the limit by interested spectators. Much speechmaking occurred and great praise was sounded on all sides for the gubernatorial nominee, Nicholas McCarty, of Indianapolis. The convention passed resolutions endorsing General Scott and Senator John J. Crittenden, of Kentucky, for the Whig National nominations. The Whig State ticket was as follows:<sup>23</sup> Governor, Nicholas McCarty, Marion county; Lieutenant-Governor, William Williams, Kosciusko county; Treasurer of State, Achilles Williams, Wayne county (resigned); Simon T. Hadley, Hendricks county; Auditor of State, Douglass Macguire, Marion county; Secretary of State, John Osborne, Clay county; State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Aaron Wood, Putnam county; Judges of Supreme Court, 1st District, John B. Howe, Lagrange county; 2nd District, Charles Dewey, Clark county; 3rd District, David McDonald, Monroe county; 4th District, Samuel B. Gookins, Vigo county; Reporter of Supreme Court, A. L. Osborn, Laporte county; Clerk of Supreme Court, James A. Stretch, Grant county. For State Electors, Col. Henry S. Lane and Pleasant A. Hackleman, Rushville, were chosen. Colonel Lane had been a leader in the Mexican War and later, in 1860, was elected governor of Indiana and United States Senator in 1861. Mr. Hackleman was the editor of the Rushville *Whig* and later was a Brigadier-General in the Civil War, and was killed in battle at Corinth, Miss. Mr. McCarty was a retired business man of Indianapolis. Mr. Williams, candidate for lieutenant-governor, was the editor of the *Northern Indianian* of Warsaw, and was afterwards a member of Congress. Douglass Maguire, candidate for auditor, was the founder of *Indiana State Journal*. John Osborne, candidate for state superintendent of public instruction, was the founder of the first papers in Terre Haute and Greencastle, and helped to found Asbury (DePauw) University. Excepting Judge Dewey, who really lived in Indianapolis, none of the Whig nominees came from the river counties, the section which the Democrats so delighted to honor in their selections for State officers. Few of the Whig candidates lived south of the National road; most were from the upper part of the State. The Democratic and Whig parties appeared to have chosen their candidates according to their sectional residence, the former favoring the southern portion of the

<sup>23</sup> *Indiana State Journal*, Feb. 27, 1852.

State and the latter party the northern section. Such a situation would indicate that sectionalism already prevailed in this State; that Indiana had a north and south of her own. Here, in 1852, was intrastate sectionalism almost as well defined as the interstate sectionalism of a decade later. The Whig ticket was no worse than the Democratic as regards sectionalism.

The *Indiana State Journal* made an earnest appeal for the support of the candidates selected by the Convention and declared that if the Whig party supported them success was certain to reward their efforts. Its plea to the Whig voters was as follows:

"THE WATCH-FIRES RELIT"

"BEHOLD HOW BRIGHTLY BREAKS THE MORNING."

"Whigs! a duty remains to you. This excellent ticket was not put in the field to be sacrificed. It was presented with a determination that it should succeed. But it needs our utmost labors to achieve that success. Half the victory is already won. The nomination of Mr. McCarty and his associates has struck terror into the before-boastful Locofoco camp. The other half is yet to be done. Earnest, active exertions—untiring labors—faithful effort—will accomplish it, and we shall rejoice in the ides of October, over Indiana redeemed and disenthralled. On, then, to the contest and the victory!"<sup>24</sup>

The ticket which the Whigs placed in the field was not characterized by men of unusual ability; yet at the same time, it was little, if any, different from the Democratic. The Whig ticket probably lacked as many experienced politicians as the Democratic ticket, but that fact did not detract from the ability of the candidates. The ticket does not appear to be as good as the Whigs could have made. The politicians of this party, as in the Democratic, were not intent on choosing the best qualified men for the offices. This accounts for the mediocre ability of some of the nominees of both parties.

The Free Soil party held its State Convention in Indianapolis on May 17. Lacking an efficient organization, the party was obliged to give notice through the press of the State, of the time and place of their Convention. One of their Convention notices was as follows:

"The friends of Freedom and of Free-Soil, including all those opposed to the 'Fugitive Slave Law,' will hold a State convention at Indianapolis, on the third Monday in May—the 17th—for the purpose of deliberating

<sup>24</sup> *Indiana State Journal*, Feb. 27, 1852.

upon the interest of the cause of liberty and of our State and Nation. Each township is requested to send one delegate to the convention."<sup>25</sup>

It is evident from this notice that even the Free-Soilers had almost come to the point of accepting the compromise measures with the exception of that provision relating to the reclamation of fugitive slaves.

The Free-Soil Convention, according to the report of the Democratic New Albany *Daily Ledger*, was composed mostly of members of the old Abolition and Liberty parties, with a few Whigs and Democrats, still clinging on to their skirts, who aided in organizing the Free-Soil party of 1848. One of those Democrats was George W. Julian, according to the Whigs, although he had been more of a Whig than a Democrat in his entire previous career. The convention determined on a separate organization and nominated a full State ticket, with the exception of supreme court judges. Their ticket was as follows: Governor, Andrew L. Robinson, Vanderburgh county; Lieutenant-Governor, E. B. Crocker, St. Joseph county (withdrew); James P. Milliken, Dearborn county; Secretary of State, Joshua C. Tibbets, Jefferson county; Treasurer of State, John B. Seamans, Tippecanoe county; Auditor of State, Micajah C. White, Hamilton county; State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Rawson Vaile, Wayne county; State Electors, James H. Cravens, Ripley county, Stephen C. Stevens, Jefferson county.<sup>26</sup>

The Convention was addressed by Mr. Robinson, the candidate for Governor, and by George W. Julian and several others. Julian said that all the old issues between the Whigs and Democrats were obsolete, and those two political sects no longer deserved the appellation of parties, but were factions fighting for the spoils of office. His complaint against the Democratic party was (the New Albany *Daily Ledger* said), that it would not endorse his plan of abolition and disunion, and enter into a crusade against the South.

The Free Soil party drew most of its strength from the Democratic party which suffered most by the organization of the Free Soilers. The *State Sentinel* waged a continual warfare against them and any Democrat who dared exhibit Free Soil tendencies. This paper never ceased to oppose Dr. E. W. H. Ellis, one of the Democratic State office-holders and the editor of the *Indiana Statesman*, for his leanings toward the principles of Free Soil. The *State*

<sup>25</sup> New Albany *Daily Ledger*, May 6, 1852.

<sup>26</sup> New Albany *Daily Ledger*, May 20, 1852.

*Sentinel* purchased the *Indiana Statesman* during the campaign in order to put an end to the propagation of the Free Soil doctrines which were particularly offensive to the *Sentinel's* editor. The cause of Free Soil was not greatly affected by the sale of its chief organ, as the party had already run its course of usefulness as an individual organization. This party had little influence on the campaign and elections of 1852.

## V. THE NATIONAL CONVENTIONS

The first national convention of the year was the Democratic. The party had a wealth of men available for presidential candidates, but to judge from the reputation and fame of the man who was ultimately chosen for standard-bearer, one would be led to believe that the party was suffering from a great dearth of candidates.<sup>27</sup> The fact is that many of the available candidates were decidedly unacceptable to all sections, as the friends and adherents of one man were very unwilling to throw their support to any of the other would-be candidates. So, then, if the Democratic party desired to be victorious, it was necessary to resort to the expedient characteristic of the party, that of choosing a man little known to either politicians or the voters of the nation. Thus would the sectional and the factional elements once more be united. The *Democratic Review*, the official national organ of the party, early in the year made known its views concerning the selection of the candidate. This paper said:

"It must be remembered that this is no ordinary contest. The Democratic nominee of '52 must, therefore, not be trammeled with ideas belonging to an anterior period, or a man of merely local fame and local affections, but a statesman who can bring young blood, young ideas, and young hearts to the councils of the Republic. The Democratic party expects from the Baltimore Convention a new man, a statesman of sound Democratic pluck."<sup>28</sup>

The *Democratic Review* got just such a man as it asked for, better, doubtless, than if he had been made to order.

The Whigs were fully aware of the dilemma which confronted their opponents and joyed greatly in the Democrats' seeming inabil-

<sup>27</sup> James Schouler, *History of the U. S.*, Vol. 5, Chap. XX, pp. 240-2; Woodrow Wilson, *History of the American People*, Vol. 4, p. 156; James F. Rhodes, *History of the U. S.*, Vol. 1, Chap. III, p. 271.

<sup>28</sup> *Democratic Review*, Feb. 16, 1852.

ity to solve their problem. The *Indiana State Journal* surmised excellently and most correctly when it said:

"The Democrats are in a quandary. They don't know whom to select. We would not be surprised at the nomination of some man who has never been named for the Presidency."<sup>29</sup>

The *Journal* anticipated the Democrats in their action and solved the problem for them.

It was commonly believed previous to the convention that the candidate would be a "dark horse," or at least one not generally known. A Washington correspondent, in writing to the *Indiana State Journal*, about two weeks prior to the Democratic convention, made the first mention of Gen. Franklin Pierce as an available man for the nomination. He wrote as follows: "Gen. G. J. Pillow has been here (at Washington) on Presidential business—he gave out that none of the prominent Locofoco candidates stood any chance of an election against General Scott or any other Whig candidate; and earnestly advocated starting a new man. He is in favor of Gen. Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire for the Presidential candidate and General Pillow for the Vice-Presidency, and is now on a political mission to the Granite State to confer with his associate, Mexican Militia General. This new ticket is favorably regarded by the facetious portion of the 'unterrified'—the two P. P.'s—Pierce and Pillow—the first P. celebrated for having escorted a long wagon-train from Vera Cruz to Mexico, or some intermediate points, and the second P. celebrated for introducing inside instead of outside ditching in military defenses."<sup>30</sup> This strength which the Whigs tried to manufacture for Pierce was not evident, for it did not manifest itself until the convention had dragged along for several days.

When the Convention met in Baltimore on June 1st, General Lewis Cass appeared to be leading other candidates as far as pre-convention strength was concerned. Several county conventions in this State had endorsed Cass's candidacy and the general hope and expectation in this section was that Cass would be the nominee. The Indiana delegates went instructed for Gen. Joseph Lane, of Indiana.

The convention was organized with John W. Davis, of Sullivan county, Indiana, as president. The two-thirds rule requiring a two-thirds vote of the convention to nominate, was adopted. Mr. Davis, in his opening speech, exhorted the members to harmony, concilia-

<sup>29</sup> *Indiana State Journal*, May 26, 1852.

<sup>30</sup> *Indiana State Journal*, May 19, 1852.

tion, and compromise. Everything for principle—nothing for men, he declared as the guiding law of the convention.

The balloting for the nomination for president began late the first day. On the first ballot General Cass led with 116, Buchanan had 93, Marcy 27 and Douglas 20. Indiana gave 13 votes for Lane. On the 17th ballot, General Lane held seventh place among the candidates. Cass's lead had been reduced. When the 30th ballot had been taken, the Indiana delegation announced that its 13 votes would thereafter go to General Cass. The *Indiana State Sentinel* had expected to see Governor Marcy, of New York, the nominee, but he dropped out on the seventeenth ballot.

On June 6, by the 49th ballot, General Franklin Pierce, of New Hampshire, received the nomination by an almost unanimous vote. The platform which the Democrats adopted, affirmed the belief in the "finality" of the compromise measures as a lasting adjustment of the slavery question.

The extended session of the Democratic Convention (five days) and the great number of ballots (forty-nine) required to nominate, was explained by the Logansport *Journal* (Whig), as showing the selfishness of the friends of the different candidates. Then it added: "We have the talent and worth of the party laid aside and—Mr. Pierce nominated. He was taken up on the same principle that Mr. Polk was nominated on in '44."<sup>31</sup> The *Journal* knew that the nomination of one of the Democratic leaders meant dividing the party and certain success for their own party. They feared a repetition of the election of 1844. As a second to the sentiments of the Logansport *Journal* as just quoted, the *Indiana State Journal*, with a desire for the Whigs to go the Democrats one better, made the prediction that the Whigs would show such unanimity that not more than one day would be necessary for balloting, nor more than two ballots would be necessary to make the nomination.

The *Indiana State Sentinel* expressed its satisfaction with the work of the National Convention, and immediately began running the party candidates' names at the head of the editorial column, with the appended declaration: For President, Franklin Pierce, New Hampshire; for Vice-President, William R. King, Alabama. "No North, no South, no East, no West under the Constitution; but a sacred maintenance of the common bond and true devotion to the common brotherhood. \* \* \*—FRANKLIN PIERCE."<sup>32</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Logansport *Journal*, June 12, 1852.

<sup>32</sup> *Indiana State Sentinel*, June 7, 1852.

The Indiana Democrats were not any too well pleased with their party's presidential nominee; they had expected General Cass to be the candidate again. General Pierce was very little known by Democrats in this section of the country and the news of his nomination was received with little enthusiasm here. Mr. King was known to be a strong pro-slavery Southerner and Free Soil Democrats saw no cause for joy in his nomination. The Democratic nominees were not of a kind to arouse much party interest or enthusiasm.

The Whigs set their convention for June 16, thus allowing themselves full opportunity to profit by the example and mistakes of the Democrats. Probably there was not one Whig who attended their Convention who had the slightest misgiving, or entertained any doubt concerning the future of his party. That this was to be their last national convention of importance, not one could believe. Yet there were opposition newspapers which frequently indulged in foretelling the future of the Whig party. During the time of the Whig National Convention, the New Albany *Daily Ledger*, Democratic, made a prophecy which its editor most appropriately called ominous. His prediction read as follows:

"In a crowded city, when persons are lying very ill, it is customary to spread tan-bark over the pavement in the vicinity of the residence, to prevent the noise of passing vehicles from disturbing the sick. The Whig National Convention adopted the same plan. The streets in the vicinity of their hall were covered with tan-bark, and it is hoped that the last hours of those who were then and there stretched on their political death-bed were not disturbed by any unnecessary noise and confusion."<sup>33</sup>

During the convention the Whigs appeared to be animated by a new life.

The nomination of Gen. Winfield Scott as the Whig candidate for the Presidency had been supported and endorsed by the Whig press and Whig leaders throughout the State for more than a year preceding the National Convention of 1852. The *Indiana State Journal* had supported him for sixteen months. The Indiana Whig State Convention and those of thirteen other States had endorsed Scott's candidacy before April, 1852. The general expectation seemed to be that General Scott would receive the nomination, although there would be opposition. The Whigs were now considering the kind of campaign he should conduct. General Scott being

<sup>33</sup> New Albany *Daily Ledger*, June 23, 1852.

very reticent in expressing his opinions and it being a settled policy with Whig Presidential candidates to campaign on their personal reputation, it was decided best to have the candidate be non-committal on all the issues of the day. Horace Greeley, the greatest of Whig editors, expressed his belief on the subject in the following editorial published in his *New York Tribune*:

"If the Whigs are to elect the President of 1852 at all, they are to elect him as they elected the President of 1848, without reference to the slavery question, or to any measures, whether they be compromise or any other that grow out of it. The northern Whigs are willing to go for General Scott because he is a good Whig, and because they believe he can be elected. All they ask of him is that he shall not come out and pledge himself to slavery men or measures, and thus make himself a sectional instead of a National candidate, and this they will assuredly insist upon, let the consequences be what they may."<sup>34</sup>

It is evident from this expression that Greeley and other northern Whig leaders were afraid that the Southern Whigs would make demands that Scott give pledges regarding the Slavery settlement. General Scott tried to square himself with all sections of the country by declaring for the Union as the only issue, and in his speeches he repeatedly spoke of his great affection for the Union.<sup>35</sup>

The Democratic press of Indiana criticized General Scott for his attitude toward the Catholic Church. The trouble all went back to Kossuth's visit and the Hungarian appeal for aid. General Scott, the Whigs and the Catholics opposed all aid to the Hungarians while the Democrats gladly championed their cause. For this pro-Catholic attitude, the *Rising Sun Argus*, Democratic, used up the Whig party in the following excruciating manner:<sup>36</sup>

"The Whig National Convention is to assemble in Baltimore on Thursday, June 17. General Scott, of course, will receive the nomination, and come before the people with his non-committal flag fluttering in the breeze, with a few Roman Catholics to guide the rudder, Defrees (editor of the *Ind. State Journal*), of Indianapolis, bringing up the rear of Irish foreigners that Scott said fought so well with him in Mexico—because, forsooth, whilst Scott had the city of Mexico (the renowned seat of Catholicism), under his military subjugation, he caused the American soldiery under his command to bow down and be permitted to politely kiss the foot of a few

<sup>34</sup> *Indiana State Journal*, April 20, 1852.

<sup>35</sup> Gen. Scott's Speech, Castle Garden, N. Y., July 1852: "I have served the Union for forty odd years and feel myself a citizen of every part of it; and whatever of life and strength I may have shall be devoted to its preservation."

*Indiana State Journal*, July 21, 1852.

<sup>36</sup> *Rising Sun Argus*, May 14, 1852.

ignorant and superstitious Priests. Defrees having already drummed up his regiment, by publishing the bull of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy of Indiana, denouncing Kossuth and the cause of freedom generally, we expect to see the 'universal Whig party' emerging forth from the political contest of November next with but one State in the Union, and that State is General Apathy."

Both Whigs and Democrats played for the support of the many Catholic settlers coming to the country in this period. Both parties were found advocating the doctrines of Native Americanism. The Catholic vote was usually given to the Democratic candidates.

Long before the States held their conventions, it had been recognized that President Fillmore ought not to be the candidate. On his accession, he had become an active agent in promoting and had strongly favored the compromise measures which the Anti-Slavery men abhorred. He had served his party and country well, considering the circumstances, and he still retained the confidence of a great part of the eastern Whigs. But there were other considerations which the Whig leaders held to be weightier than these. The Washington correspondent of the *Indiana State Journal* wrote, early in 1852, concerning the trend of Whig favor away from Fillmore:

"Mr. Fillmore's nomination and election would give great satisfaction to most sound, conservative Whigs, but in view of the almost certainty that he could not carry any one of the three great states of New York, Pennsylvania or Ohio, it is not wonderful that there are few, who really desire the continued preponderance of Whig principles in the councils of the nation, to be found advocating his nomination. The signs of the times all point to the hero of 'Lundy's Lane and Chapultepec' as the next Whig candidate for President. Indications seem to anticipate General Scott's nomination with remarkable unanimity."<sup>37</sup>

Fillmore's friends did put up a good fight for him in the convention.

The Indiana Whig press generally wanted the National Convention to be held at Cincinnati, because of its convenience. The *Indiana State Journal* thought the delegates would come more direct from the people, and the selection of candidates, at Cincinnati, more likely to be in accordance with the wishes of a great majority of the Whigs. However, the convention met in Baltimore on June 16.<sup>38</sup> It continued for four days, balloting forty-six times without great

<sup>37</sup> *Indiana State Journal*, Feb. 18, 1852.

<sup>38</sup> "Webster's Candidacy," in Von Holst, *Constitutional History of U. S.*, IV, pp. 136-139.

change. On that ballot Scott had 134 votes, Fillmore 127 and Webster 31. The Indiana delegation voted always for Scott. The balloting was resumed on the fifth day and on the fifty-third ballot, General Scott was nominated by a vote of 148 to 118 for Fillmore and 26 for Webster. William A. Graham, of North Carolina, was the Vice-Presidential nominee. The predicted unanimity was somewhat lacking, for the Whigs exceeded the Democrats in time and number of ballots, and instead of finishing on the second day and nominating on the second ballot, five days and fifty-three ballots were necessary to choose their standard-bearer. The Indiana delegation never failed to register its thirteen votes for General Scott.

The Whig platform met opposition within the ranks of the party, especially Article VII, which related to the compromise measures.<sup>39</sup> This declaration was strong language for the Whigs to use, but it was written by southern delegates expressly for northern Whigs to acquiesce in. General Scott was neither to acquiesce in it nor to repudiate it, and he played his part well. His reputation and his services in the military field were a strong platform in themselves.

The nomination of General Scott was the signal for widespread jollifying in Indiana by his own party and the soldier element of the Democratic. Pierce's nomination, on the other hand, had been received in a matter-of-fact way, simply because people did not know him. The Democrats of Indiana did very little crowing for their candidate during the first weeks which followed the nomination, while this was the only time that the Whigs had any cause to jollify during the campaign.

The Anti-Slavery men, the Free-Soil Democrats, self-styled "Friends of Freedom," held their national convention at Pittsburgh on August 11. Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts, was President and Asa Turner, of Indiana, Vice-President of the Convention. Resolutions were adopted condemning the institution of slavery and the parties affiliated with it. The nominees were John P. Hale, of New Hampshire, and George W. Julian, of Indiana, for President and Vice-President, respectively. Julian had been a Whig until 1848 when he supported Van Buren. He was elected to Congress in 1851 on a Democratic Free Soil fusion ticket over Samuel W. Parker in the Fifth District but was defeated in 1853. He never was a Democrat, although the Whig press tried hard to make him out as one.

<sup>39</sup> *Indiana State Journal*, June 22, 1852.

The platform of the Free Democracy related mostly to the subject of slavery. The Convention adopted several resolutions, about which the *Indiana State Journal* and other papers said: "Some of the resolutions we like very well—and some we don't."<sup>40</sup> Resolution number 5 said in answer to the slave power's demands for more territory and national recognition: "Our distinct and final answer is NO MORE SLAVE STATES, NO SLAVE TERRITORY, NO NATIONALIZED SLAVERY and NO NATIONAL LEGISLATION for the extradition of Slaves." Resolution number 21 contained their characteristic closing words, "On our banner we inscribe Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labor, Free Men, and under it will fight on and fight ever until a triumphant victory shall reward our exertions."

The Native American Convention assembled in Trenton, N. J., on July 6 and determined to support Daniel Webster for President. On July 14, the Southern Rights Convention was held at Montgomery, Alabama, but the convention declined to nominate any candidate, recommending that adherents pursue any course thought proper. Indiana had no interest in either of these two political organizations.

(*To be Concluded*)

<sup>40</sup> *Indiana State Journal*, Oct. 1, 1852.

## George W. Julian's Journal—The Assassination of Lincoln

[The following pages from the Journal of Mr. Julian were furnished by his daughter, Mrs. Grace Julian Clarke, of Irvington, Indiana. George W. Julian was one of the best known of Indiana's public men fifty years ago. These extracts from his diary covering the closing days of the Civil War and the assassination of Lincoln are of general historical interest and especially so to Indianaans. The readers of the *Indiana Magazine of History* will no doubt wish to have more extracts from this interesting Journal. A brief sketch of Julian will be in place here.

George W. Julian was born near Centerville, Ind., May 5, 1817. His ancestors were from North Carolina and were among the early settlers in the Whitewater Valley. Young Julian attended the common schools, studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1840. In politics he was a Whig of pronounced anti-slavery disposition, being of the Quaker stock whose migration from North Carolina to the Northwest was largely prompted by slavery conditions in the Carolinas. He was elected to Congress as a Free-soiler on a fusion ticket between Democrats and Free-soilers in 1848. Julian was elected to the Lower House of the Indian Legislature in 1845; he was a delegate to the National Free Soil Buffalo Convention in 1848, and was a candidate for Vice-President on the Free Soil ticket with John P. Hale in 1852. He was a delegate to the first national convention of the Republican Party in 1856, which met in Pittsburgh, February 22 of that year for the national organization of the new party, and Mr. Julian was chairman of the Committee on Organization. He had been elected as a Free Soiler (by the aid of a Democratic endorsement) to the thirty-first Congress in 1848, and served in Congress from March 4, 1849, to March 4, 1851. He was again elected to Congress, as a Republican, serving in the 37th, 38th, 39th, 40th and 41st Congresses, from March 4, 1861 to March 4, 1871, in one of the stormiest periods in our country's history. In this period he stood with the radical anti-slavery men, under the leadership of Stevens, Wade and Sumner, and he was a member of important committees, including the one on the Conduct of the War. He was an ardent advocate of the homestead system, of suffrage for the negro, and as early as 1868, he proposed a constitutional amendment to confer suffrage upon women. He was always the ready champion of the principle of fundamental democracy—"equal rights for all, special privileges for none," regardless of race, color, creed, or sex.

Julian became a Liberal Republican along with Sumner, Schurz, White-law Reid and others in 1872, supporting Horace Greeley for the Presidency

against Grant. In 1884 he supported Cleveland for President and was appointed by President Cleveland Surveyor General of New Mexico. He served four years in that office, from 1886 to 1890. He died in Irvington, now a part of Indianapolis, on July 7, 1899. Mr. Julian's second wife, the mother of Mrs. Grace Julian Clarke, was a daughter of Joshua R. Giddings the noted anti-slavery hero and champion of the old Western Reserve District of Ohio, whose parliamentary and political struggles with the representatives of the slave interests form so large a part of the exciting anti-slavery controversy. George W. Julian's Life of Giddings is a valuable contribution to the literature and history of that conflict. In his later years Mr. Julian was a contributor to the *American Historical Review* and other journals. His *Speeches on Political Questions* are well known contributions to our political literature. The "Journal" of Julian is a record of notable interest touching the men and events of a great period. His life deserves a memorial volume.

J. A. W.

## WASHINGTON, TUESDAY, January 3, 1865.

Have been trying to get together and arrange some thoughts on the subject of selling our mineral lands. The city has been very dull during the vacation, nearly all the members of Congress having gone home. Attended the committee meeting today, but nothing was done but listen to old Ben Wade hold forth in his peculiar style. He denounces the Administration and the servility and cowardice of Congress. We have no stirring news since the unfortunate failure at Wilmington, which seems to have no parallel among the many horrid blunders of this war.

The New Year was ushered in quietly here, and I spent nearly the whole day in my room.

## SUNDAY, January 8.

Have been attending the sessions of the House and am writing off the first draft of a speech on mineral lands. Had a talk the other day with Mr. Hugh McCulloch on the subject; also with Dr. Elder and Horace Greeley. They are all for selling these lands. So is old John Wilson, ex-Commissioner of the Land Office, on whom I called the other day. He knows more about our land question probably than any man in the Union. He is to draw a bill for me as he thinks it should be.

Yesterday, on the advice of financial friends, I invested \$1,800 in seven-thirty bonds. Have now in bonds and bank stock \$6,000 and \$1,300 loaned. If I have no bad luck I hope to be able to save nearly all my salary for the next two years.

Have a present of a nice scarf from Mrs. Cheesman of California, who boards here, and a present from Laura of a fine copy of the New Testament and Psalms, given on the anniversary of our marriage. Also, of a ball.

FRIDAY, January 20.

Attending the session of the House and of the Committee on the Conduct of the War, writing a good many letters, and at work on my speech. I will be done with it in a few days.

On Tuesday last we had General Butler before our committee all day. His testimony is in the highest degree interesting, and will vindicate him against the charges which now seem to weigh him down. It turns out that his failure at Fort Fisher was not the cause of his late removal, which had been determined on before, the failure being simply made the occasion. Either Butler or Grant has lied, as there is a square contradiction between them. We shall send for Grant and others, and have a complete sifting of the whole matter. When Butler came before us Wade asked him to state his rank and position in the army at this time. He answered promptly: "My rank is that of a Major-General of Volunteers, and my position is that of a witness before the Committee on the Conduct of the War." He is a "brick."<sup>1</sup>

THURSDAY NIGHT, January 26.

Finished my mineral land speech two or three days ago. Last night had Mr. Blodget and Mr. Taylor, of the Treasury Department here endeavoring to perfect my bill. We had a most interesting discussion. Conklin, of Cincinnati, was also with us—the man who deluges me with letters about minerals and railroads. Have begun to prepare a general speech on the rebellion, slavery, etc., to be delivered after awhile if I can get the floor. On Tuesday we had a spicy debate in the House growing out of some charges of Brooks, of New York, against General Butler.

<sup>1</sup> On Jan. 7, 1865, Grant removed Butler from the command of the Department of Virginia and North Carolina, "for the good of the service." "There is," wrote Grant to Stanton, the Secretary of War, "a lack of confidence felt in his military ability, making him an unsafe commander for a large army. His administration of the affairs of his department is also objectionable." On Feb. 7, 1865, Stanton telegraphed to Grant, "The President orders that you as being responsible for military results must be allowed to be judge and master on the subjects of trade with the enemy." Mr. Rhodes calls this the true policy. Gen. Grant had expressed the opinion that commercial non-intercourse with the enemy would have a very positive effect in shortening the war. It is well known that the illicit trade in cotton was very hard to control.

Boutwell made a good speech, and with the help of Stevens overwhelmingly vindicated the "old beast," and demolished Brooks.

## SATURDAY NIGHT, January 20.

Tried hard today to get a hearing at the War Department, but failed. Last night attended the Speaker's reception and visited Senator Conness to talk about mineral lands. His self-esteem is a disease.

## WEDNESDAY NIGHT, February 1.

Just returned from Mr. Chase's reception, where I went with Mrs. Cheesman. Mrs. Sprague appeared grandly and so did the Chief Justice.<sup>2</sup>

The greatest event of this century occurred yesterday in the passage of the Constitutional Amendment in the House. The spectacle during the vote was the most solemn and impressive I ever witnessed. The result for a good while remained in doubt, and the suspense produced perfect stillness. When it was certainly known that the measure had carried, the cheering in the hall and densely packed galleries exceeded anything I ever before saw and beggared description. Members joined in the shouting, and kept it up for some minutes. Some embraced one another, others wept like children. I never before felt as I then did, and thanked God for the blessed opportunity of recording my name where it will be as honored as those of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. What a grand jubilee for the old battle-scarred Abolitionists. Glorious fruit of the war. I have felt, ever since the vote, as if I were in a new country. I seem to breathe better, and feel comforted and refreshed.

Another event, following close after this, was the admission of Doctor Rock, of Boston, a colored lawyer and scholar, to practice in the Supreme Court. No objection was made, even by the old Dred Scott judges.

Have my bill ready to offer.

## FRIDAY, February 10.

On Monday evening went with Laura to visit Mrs. Swisshelm and Mrs. Berkau. On Wednesday night we went to Ford's Theatre to hear "She Stoops to Conquer" and were badly bored. Last night made further calls and am trying to be a little sociable.

The Freedmen's Bill passed the House yesterday, and last week

<sup>2</sup> Kate Chase Sprague, the daughter of the Chief Justice and wife of the Rhode Island Senator.

the Ship Canal bills, involving large appropriations, were passed. On Wednesday both Houses assembled to count the votes for President, and I think I never before saw the hall and galleries so crowded. On Tuesday evening in convention of the whole, I made my general political speech, which is not yet printed, and yesterday I reported back my land bill and delivered my speech upon it which will be in the *Globe* today. Both are to be put in pamphlet for distribution. Am behind with my work and shall be overwhelmed with duties till the end of the session. Have great fears that neither my Mineral Land Bill nor Homestead Bill of the last session will pass at this session, but am proud of them and hope they will.

SUNDAY NIGHT, February 12.

Laura has just taken the cars for New York on her way to her old home in Jefferson, and I am alone.

General Grant was before our committee yesterday and contradicted Butler squarely on several matters of fact, showing a good deal of feeling. Reports are current as to his excessive drinking of late, and he looks as if they were true.

Dick Thompson, an old pro-slavery fossil, has just been appointed judge of the Court of Claims. This is an outrage, but I learn from senators that nothing can be done to prevent his confirmation, for the reason that old Abe, through his patronage, is the virtual dictator of the country. I have tried to get Colfax and other Indiana congressmen to unite in a protest against the confirmation, but they decline, on the ground that they don't want any quarrel with Lincoln or Thompson. I am utterly *sick* of the every-day spectacles of moral cowardice, for which I see no remedy.<sup>3</sup>

Today, by an arrangement with Mr. Channing, our chaplain, the Rev. Mr. Garnett preached in the House, the first colored man who ever preached in the Capitol. Dr. Bock practicing law in the Supreme Court and Dr. Garnett preaching to Senators and Representatives! The world *does* move.

THURSDAY, February 16.

Today General Halleck was before the War Committee, uniting with other witnesses in damaging General Banks. Last night had a pleasant interview with Lincoln and urged the appointment of McCullough as Secretary of the Treasury. I think he will go

<sup>3</sup> The reference is to Hon. Richard W. Thompson of Terre Haute.

in. Tonight had several hands and franked and tied up 2,300 speeches ready for the mail. My mineral land bill is exciting much interest and criticism. Yesterday attended the funeral of Senator Hicks and the ceremonies in the Senate chamber were imposing.

## SUNDAY, February 19.

Enjoyed "Still Water Runs Deep" at the Washington Theatre last night. Glorious news from Sherman's army this morning, announcing that Columbia is ours and probably Charleston. Went with Indiana friends to the preaching at the Capitol today and met Father Pierrepont. Franked large quantities of documents this afternoon.

(The next entries tell of the illness and death of Mr. Julian's oldest son, Edward Channing, at Mount Vernon, Iowa, where he was visiting his grandmother and other relatives, and where his father went in time to minister to him during the last few days of his life, taking his body to Centerville for burial.)

## TUESDAY EVENING, March 28.

Left home Monday, the 20th, reaching Washington Wednesday evening, and resuming my old quarters at 76 Indiana avenue. Have been attending to business at the departments and consulting with Wade and Gooch, the only members of the War Committee who are here, as to our unfinished business. We expect to leave for Carolina on Thursday. Heard a grand sermon on Sunday from Channing. Telegraphed Laura to come and join me in the trip south, but she declines.

## FRIDAY, March 31.

Our trip south postponed till a week from today. Lincoln is at City Point trying to patch up a peace and also to get Grant to revoke his order forbidding trade in cotton. A bill regulating this trade passed the late Congress, but Lincoln pocketed it, whereupon Washburne at once visited Grant and procured the order mentioned, which stands in the way of Lincoln and his friends. It is proved before our committee that Lincoln, in violation of law, has been granting permits to trade in cotton and that he has refused to respond in any way to a resolution of the Senate, passed a month before the adjournment, calling on him for specific information as to these permits, to whom granted, etc., etc. Wade says this administration is more corrupt than that of Buchanan.

FRIDAY MORNING, April 7.

On last Monday morning left for New York, and soon after heard of the fall of Richmond. Found the city in a blaze of enthusiasm, Wall street packed with people, singing, shouting, etc. Broadway, with its innumerable banners, was the finest sight I had ever beheld. People seemed wild with joy. Spent Tuesday morning shopping, and at night heard a fine sermon by James Freeman Clarke in Doctor Bellows' church. Next day attended the National Unitarian convention at Broadway Athenaeum and saw on the platform Doctor Dewey, Doctor Bellows, Doctor Palfrey, William Cullen Bryant and many other notables whose names have long been familiar to me through Unitarian publications. In the evening called on General Fremont, who had retired; but had a long talk with Jessie, and Lilly, the daughter, a charming girl. Jessie rages at all sorts of people, especially at Greeley, Beecher, and Garrison. According to her, the General was shamefully betrayed by pretended radical and anti-Lincoln men who deserted him in time of greatest need, after encouraging him to stand in the breach.<sup>4</sup>

Left New York yesterday morning, and am again at my old quarters, ready for the southern trip.

SUNDAY AFTERNOON, April 9.

We start south tomorrow, the navy not having been able sooner to fit us out with a good sea-going vessel.

Nothing new here but the general excitement over the good news from our armies. Much indignation is shown against Greeley and Beecher for their false magnanimity towards rebels, and justly. The Sergeant-at-arms of the Senate has presented most of the members of our committee with a fine Spencer rifle, with belt, rigging, ammunition, etc., and a Colt's navy revolver. I shall go home bristling with war and glory!

<sup>4</sup> This refers to the nomination of Gen. Fremont for President at the Cleveland convention in 1864, by the radical anti-slavery malcontents who had been dissatisfied with what they considered the too conservative course of Lincoln. Fremont for President and Cochrane for Vice-President were nominated as a means of forestalling the renomination of the President by the Republicans, when it was thought by many that Lincoln could not be elected. The radical ticket was withdrawn in the fall of 1864 in order that the "Union Party" ticket (Lincoln and Johnson) might present a united front to the enemy. Stevens, Wade and Julian were among the radical leaders in Congress who had not been favorable to Lincoln's renomination. Mrs. Fremont ("Jessie") evidently felt that some one had betrayed the general.

## TUESDAY NIGHT, 11th.

Left Washington at 2 p. m. yesterday and reached Fortress Monroe at 6 this morning. Here we learned that the Alabama, which the navy had furnished us, would have to be detained some 20 hours to coal, so we came directly here, passing Jamestown, Point Lookout, Harrison's Landing, and other places of interest and seeing a most lovely country. At City Point Admiral Porter came on board and told us we could go to Richmond if we were willing to risk the torpedoes. He furnished us a pilot, and though we had some fears we came safely. In the morning we are to go on shore and hope to get away by noon tomorrow, so that we may yet reach Charleston for the great Anniversary.

## CITY POINT, Wednesday, April 12, 9 p. m.

Went to sleep last night on our boat lulled by the music of the guitar and the singing of the negroes below. Slept sweetly my first night in Richmond, and at about 8 in the morning our party started out sight-seeing, some in carriages and some on horse-back. I tried the latter, as did most of us, each with an orderly to show him the way and act as servant. I must have traveled over ten miles and am, of course, sore, having scarcely had so much exercise in a year. I bantered Mrs. Barrett, one of our party, for a race, which she accepted. I came out ahead and exulted greatly. The first notable place we visited was Gen. Weitzell's headquarters, just vacated by Jeff. Davis in the upper part of the city, a fine three-story residence, which was bought for him at the beginning of the war. It has a large finely finished double parlor, a ladies' parlor and a small secluded room attached in which there is a library and where all sorts of treasons are said to have been hatched and debated. There is besides a large circular ante-room containing fine mirrors, statuary, etc. General Weitzel looks the soldier all over. His head is a German one, not intellectual in its frontal appearance, but fully developed in the "driving powers." We next proceeded to the Capitol, an ancient building, not to be compared with our best modern state capitols in size or style of architecture. As you go through the grounds enclosing it you pass the monument on which stand large bronze statues of Jefferson, Madison and Henry, the summit of the structure being surmounted by the figure of Washington on horseback. The steps around this monument were crowded by swarms of ne-

gro men and women whose faces beamed with joy and satisfaction. As we entered the Capitol we found great crowds of rebels waiting to take the oath, a business that was being attended to in the Senate chamber. We entered the House of Representatives, small and plain-looking, with dilapidated furniture and faded pictures of distinguished Virginians suspended on the walls. Ascending to the library above, we found a pretty large collection of books, but very few modern publications, especially of our own authors. There appeared to be no new books or new editions of old ones, and they were chiefly English and French, and showed the monarchial tastes of the "first families." I noticed many copies of the Bible, none of which seemed ever to have been used, and there was a liberal supply of theological works of the most approved orthodoxy. I would have lingered here, but time would not permit. We ascended to the top of the building, from which we had a magnificent view of the city and country round about. No sight could be more attractive, for Richmond, all agree, is one of the most beautiful towns in the world. Nearly all the houses are well-built and clean-looking. From the top of the Capitol we could see plainly Libby prison, Castle Thunder, and Belle Isle, places immortalized by the infamy which their names will forever recall. We next proceeded to Libby Prison, a large three-story tobacco warehouse. I passed through the two upper stories, but did not go into the more loathsome dungeons below, where our poor boys suffered so much, and which are now occupied by rebel prisoners. The filth, vermin and disease which one must encounter there kept me from going.

From here, headed by General Devons, we rode out to see the rebel fortifications, which consist of three lines girdling the city after the manner of Paris. We passed to the second line, a mile or more beyond the interior one, the other one being some two and one-half miles further and estimated to be thirty miles in circumference. Gradually making our way towards the city we stopped to rest awhile at the headquarters of General Roberts, a little out of the city, who occupies the fine mansion of a rich rebel named Mayo, who is connected by marriage with the family of General Scott, two of whose children lie buried near by. Everything here had an antique look, furniture, pictures, etc., and the house itself was built long before the Revolution, of brick imported from England. The grounds, garden, etc., are beautiful.

the view of the James being the finest possible. Near the house towards the river is the stone which marks the grave of Powhatan, and in the garden is the large boulder on which it is said the head of Capt. John Smith was placed when death was to be inflicted. General Roberts occupies this house along with Mr. Mayo, who has two sons and one grandson in the rebel army, all of whom are expected home and have the right to return and enjoy it unmolested under the recent stipulations of General Grant. Being now much fatigued, I was glad to return to the wharf, give up my horse and odrerly, and rejoin our crew on the Baltimore, all as tired and as gratified as myself by the day's observations.

Before starting out in the morning, we saw the Richmond *Whig* containing an order signed by General Weitzel inviting Hunter, McMullen and other rebel leaders, including the rebel legislature, to meet in Richmond on the 25th to confer with us on the restoration of peace, transportation and safe conduct being ordered for the villains for the purpose. We were all thunder-struck, and I never before saw such force and fitness in Ben Wade's swearing. Curses loud and deep were uttered by more than one at this infamous proposition to treat with leading rebels. This fake magnanimity is to be our ruin after all, I fear. The rebel officers in Richmond are strutting round the streets in full uniform looking as impudent as may be.

At 4 p. m. we left Richmond having a charming ride down the James and seeing a most lovely country which we had passed in the night as we came, including Drury's Landing, Dutch Gap Canal, Malvern Hills, etc. Reaching City Point a little after sunset, we were delighted with the view of the shipping, floating to and fro, with its red and blue lights forming a semi-circle in the bend of the river and contrasting admirably with the darkness of Richmond. We lie here tonight on account of rain and fog.

FRIDAY AFTERNOON, April 14, nearing Washington.

We did not leave City Point till late yesterday morning and the day was nearly spent when we reached Fortress Monroe. Here we landed and rambled over the fortifications till near sunset. The Rodman 15-inch guns and the Parrott guns were among the objects of special interest and the lovely weather lent an additional charm to the natural and artificial beauty of the place. We reached Point Lookout about one o'clock, a place scarcely less attractive than

Fortress Monroe. Here we took horses and rode through the quarters of the prisoners now numbering about 18,000, occupying tents inside of a tract of some fifty acres enclosed by a high plank fence. The prisoners are chiefly Carolinians, who look well and are better dressed than I had supposed. They are evidently the poor white trash of the South who have been drawn into the war without knowing why. The soup houses are prepared on a large scale and I was much interested in seeing how such a multitude could be fed. Encountering Mrs. Barrett on our return to the river, I had another race with her, beating her worse than before.

Before we reached Fortress Monroe it became known that our Charleston trip was a failure. Wade would not go, Chandler refused, and, in fact, never intended to go, doing all he could to prevent the trip. Gooch would not go without Wade, and so the thing was given up, much to the chagrin of our party, who had set their hearts upon seeing Charleston. We have now passed Mt. Vernon, at sunset, having a fine view and shall very soon be safe in Washington.

SATURDAY EVENING, April 15.

Reached here at seven o'clock yesterday evening, as glad to get back as I was sorry to have missed Charleston. Went to bed about 10:30 and was soon roused from a deep sleep by someone knocking at my door. Mr. Woods entered and told me Lincoln was murdered, and Seward and son probably, and that assassins were about to take the town. I was still half asleep and in my fright grew suddenly cold, heartsick, and almost helpless. On going out on the street a little later I found the whole town in a blaze of excitement and rage. About 7:30 the church bells tolled the President's death. The weather was as gloomy as the mood of the people. All sorts of rumors were afloat about Seward and his sons, who are still living, but with doubtful chance of recovery. They are said to be dreadfully gashed and bruised. Booth is the murderer of Lincoln, but the other assassins are not yet known.

Johnson was inaugurated today at 11 a. m., and took the oath, and he has already been in the hands of Chase, the Blairs, Halleck, General Scott, etc. Chase has again gone crazy about the presidency, and it is said is now plotting for the State Department as a stepping stone. Vain thought! The War Committee today sent a request for an interview with the President and will probably secure it tomorrow. Have spent most of the afternoon in

caucus with Wade, Chandler, Covode, Judge Carter and Wilkinson, correspondent of *The Tribune*, who is determined to put Greeley on the war-path. In this caucus we agreed upon a new cabinet, which we are tomorrow to urge upon Johnson, among other things placing Butler in the State Department, Stebbins, of New York, in the navy, and Covode Postmaster General. I like the radicalism of the members of this caucus, but have not in a long time heard so much profanity. It became intolerably disgusting. Their hostility towards Lincoln's policy of conciliation and contempt for his weakness were undisguised; and the universal feeling among radical men here is that his death is a god-send. It really seems so, for among the last acts of his official life was an invitation to some of the chief rebel conspirators to meet in Richmond and confer with us on the subject of peace. The dastardly attack upon Lincoln and Seward, the great leaders in the policy of mercy, puts to flight utterly every vestige of humanitarian weakness, and makes it seem that justice shall be done and the righteous ends of the war made sure. The government could not have survived the policy upon which it had entered.<sup>6</sup>

## SUNDAY NIGHT, April 16.

This morning went with our committee by appointment to meet the new President at his headquarters in the Treasury Department. He received us with decided cordiality. Wade said: "Johnson, we have faith in you. By the Gods, there will be no trouble now in running the government." He replied, "I am very much obliged to you gentlemen, and I can only say you can judge of my policy by the past. Everybody knows what that is. I hold this: Robbery is a crime; rape is a crime; murder is a crime; *treason* is a crime; and *crime* must be punished. The law provides for it and the courts are open. Treason must be made infamous and traitors must be impoverished. We applauded his declarations and parted. From him and others I learn that General Weitzel's order before referred to was issued by direction of

<sup>6</sup> It is apparent that Thaddeus Stevens was not alone in his policy of "vindictive vengeance" toward the South in the period following the war. There is no doubt that Julian expresses here the overwhelming sentiment of the North during the days immediately following the assassination of Lincoln. The hate and spirit of vengeance engendered on both sides by the war were indicated by many utterances from prominent men in public and private life. Time was needed for the recovery of the nobler spirit of Lincoln—"with malice toward none, with charity for all."

Lincoln, who yielded to the pressure against him so far as to acquiesce in Stanton's order removing Weitzel for having acted without authority. This was outrageously unjust to Weitzel. It seems from the *Intelligencer* this morning that Lincoln had ordered that Thompson and Letcher should be allowed to escape out of the country as one of his last public acts. On our way from the Treasury we called on General Butler at Willard's, who had just reached the city. He is in fine spirits and is to see the President this evening. A caucus of the radical members of the War Committee is to meet the President tomorrow morning at 9 o'clock to confer about a new cabinet. Butler says the President must not administer on the estate of Lincoln but on that of the government, and select new men to do it. I am now more than rejoiced that we did not go to Charleston. The conservatives of the country are not here, and the presence and influence of the War Committee with Johnson, who is an ex-member, will powerfully aid the new administration in getting onto the right track.

Grant's terms with Lee were too easy, and the force surrendered was too small to be of great consequence.

#### MONDAY EVENING, April 17.

Last night went to the African Baptist church on Fourth street and was much interested. This morning went as per appointment to see the President. We talked very frankly and the symptoms seemed favorable. This evening attended the meeting of Senators and Representatives to make arrangements as to the funeral of the President. I am on the committee of escort to convey the remains to Illinois, but I cannot leave my duties here. The excitement growing out of the President's murder increases.

#### TUESDAY EVENING, 18th.

Wrote a long letter home for the *Republican*. Great crowds are pouring in to attend the funeral tomorrow. Went to the east room of the White House this evening and saw the remains of the President. Great crowds have been struggling for admission all day, and more than 100,000 must have gazed at his remains since morning. Made a very pleasant call on Father Pierrepont this evening.

#### WEDNESDAY NIGHT.

Attended the funeral in the east room. The procession has no parallel. The funeral of General Taylor, which I attended,

was nothing in comparison. The negroes appeared finely in the procession, and the President's hold on them is wonderful, and indeed on the whole country, including even those who regarded his death as a providential means of saving the country. He was a plain man of the people, indeed *one* of them, and hence their devotion to him.

MONDAY, 24th.

On Saturday last we had General Rosecrans before our committee, and his account of the campaign of Western Virginia makes McClellan look meaner than ever. On last Friday went with Indianians to call on President Johnson. Governor Morton transgressed the proprieties by reading a carefully prepared essay on the subject of reconstruction. Johnson entered upon the same theme, indulging in bad grammar, bad pronunciation and much incoherency of thought. In common with many, I was mortified.<sup>7</sup>

THURSDAY, April 27th.

Called on Tuesday to see the President. Went last night to see Bierstadt's grand picture of the Rocky Mountains.

Universal surprise and indignation prevail here as to Sherman's shameful capitulation. While I am writing the news comes of the capture and death of Booth. Saw Secretary Stanton today about the conduct of General Meredith at Paducah, where Union men are being shot like dogs and are being compelled to sell their farms and leave the district while Meredith is being loaded with rebel gifts and attending rebel balls.

<sup>7</sup> The political relations between Morton and Julian were not cordial. Their antagonism dated from long standing differences. Julian "was radical, able, eloquent, and uncompromising toward all who differed from his way of thinking. When Morton withdrew from the Democratic party Julian considered him too conservative" for "full fellowship with the faithful." Julian also denounced Know-nothings in the bitterest invective and did not want them in the Republican party. Morton, more moderate, more recently awakened to the dangers to be feared from the slave power, more practical in his remedy, would unite and strengthen all opposing elements. Julian did not like the influence which Morton had acquired in the new party. He had been opposed to Morton's candidacy (for governor) in 1856 and though he had taken the stump for Morton against Willard he afterwards spoke of the ticket as "a combination of weaknesses, instead of a union of forces." He did not regret Morton's defeat in 1856, for he said: "Had the slippery tactics of our leaders received the premium of a victory it would have been far more disastrous in its influence hereafter than merited defeat, which may even bless us as a timely reproof of our unfaithfulness." William Dudley Foulke's *Life of Morton*, Vol. I, pp. 61-66.

## The Indiana Historical Commission and Plans for the Centennial\*

BY JAMES A. WOODBURN

Indiana is standing on the eve of her one-hundredth birthday. She became a State in the American Union on Dec. 11, 1816. Next year we shall celebrate this centennial. In May, the official celebration will begin by a commemoration of the one-hundredth anniversary of the election of the first constitutional convention. The convention was held under the historic elm in the little town of Corydon, where a constitution was drawn up in June. An election for governor and lieutenant-governor was held in August, and in November, 1816, the new State government was inaugurated by the General Assembly at Corydon, and the final step in the process of converting a territory into a State was accomplished with the acceptance by Congress of our State constitution and the recognition of our statehood on December 11, 1816.

It is altogether proper that the people of Indiana should take note of the hundredth anniversary of these events and fittingly celebrate the birth of the State. This is to be done by official sanction and in a large measure under official direction, but it is to be hoped that it will be done also by a general and spontaneous co-operation of all the people throughout the State.

The State in its organized capacity and through proper channels has already pointed out the way. On March 8, 1915, an act of the legislature was approved by Governor Ralston creating a State Historical Commission, providing for the editing and publication of historical materials and for an historical and educational celebration of the Indiana centennial. This Historical Commission was made to consist of nine members: The Governor of the State, the Director of Indiana Historical Survey of Indiana University, (Professor James A. Woodburn), and the Director of the Department of Indiana History and Archives of the State Library, (Professor Harlow Lindley, of Earlham College,) were by the act made *ex officio* members of the commission. The Governor was authorized to ap-

\*This paper was read before the History Teachers Section of the Indiana State Teachers Association at Indianapolis, Oct. 29, 1915.

point six other members. This he proceeded to do, by naming President Cavanaugh, of Notre Dame University, Mr. Charles W. Moores, of Indianapolis, a vice president of the Indiana Historical Society; Mr. Lew M. O'Bannon, of Corydon; Miss Charity Dye, of Indianapolis; Mr. Samuel M. Foster, of Ft. Wayne, and Dr. Frank B. Wynn, of Indianapolis.

The creating act laid out work for the Commission on two lines:

In the first place it is made the duty of the Historical Commission to collect, edit and publish documentary and other materials on the history of Indiana. Copies of these volumes, to be printed and bound at the expense of the State in such numbers as the commission may direct, are to be distributed free to each public library in the State, and to the library of each college and normal school in the State. Two hundred copies are to be supplied to the State Library and two hundred copies to the Indiana Historical Survey to be used in making exchanges for similar publications issued by other State departments, historical commissions, societies, and agencies. Other copies may be sold by the Historical Commission at a price to be fixed, and the moneys received therefrom shall be placed in the State Treasury to the credit of the Historical Commission.

The other and distinct line of work to which the Commission is required to give its attention is to prepare and execute plans for the centennial celebration in 1916, of Indiana's admission to statehood. In doing this it may arrange such exhibits, pageants, and celebrations as it may deem proper to illustrate the epochs in the growth of Indiana; to reveal its past and present resources in each field of activity; to teach the development of industrial, agricultural, and social life and the conservation of natural resources. The Commission is authorized to prepare cuts, photographs, and materials illustrative of the history and development of the State and to co-operate in such manner as the Commission may determine with State and local authorities and agencies in stimulating public interest and activity in the celebration.

The members of the Commission while being allowed their actual and necessary traveling expenses when attending the meetings of the commission or engaged in its work, are allowed no compensations for their services. But the Commission is authorized to

employ such clerical and other assistance as may be necessary to carry out its duties.

For all of this work there was appropriated for the use of the Commission the sum of \$25,000, of which \$5,000 might be applied, if the Commission so ordered, for the publication of historical materials.

So much for the official act creating the Commission and defining the scope of its work. I wish now to indicate, as briefly as I can what it has done and some of its plans and its hopes for the future. It met for organization last May. Governor Ralston was made president and Dr. Frank B. Wynn, an ardent pioneer in this cause, was made vice-president, and Professor Harlow Lindley, archivist of the State Library, was made secretary.

The Commission appointed, within its membership two, general committees, one to oversee, direct and promote the centennial celebration, of which Dr. Frank B. Wynn was made chairman, and a second committee to attend to the preparation of and publication of historical material on Indiana, and of this committee I have the honor to be chairman.

The Commission reserved for the work of its historical committee the sum of \$5,000, in harmony with the spirit and provision of the statute, leaving only \$20,000 to meet the expenses of the Commission and for the expense of the Centennial Committee and the celebration of the coming year.

The work of Dr. Wynn's Centennial Commission is of more immediate public interest and deals with the popular though highly important phases of our work with which the masses of the people are most concerned. But the committee on the State's history deals with a part of the Commission's work which, if not more important, is of more permanent and abiding character in scope and purpose. After this year of glorious festivities has gone by, and the centennial year has become only a memory; after "the tumult and the shouting dies," let us hope that the work of the Commission on behalf of the history of the State will be with us yet, "lest we forget." It can render Indiana a service that, while attracting no general or spectacular interest, will be appreciated the more as the generations come and go. I shall speak briefly of the projected plans of this committee before describing, as I shall do more fully, the plans of the Centennial Committee for next year's centennial celebrations.

Upon a report of its Historical Committee last June the

Commission authorized the publication of the following historical material:

1. Two volumes embracing the messages of the governors of Indiana, from territorial times to 1851, covering the period of the Territory and the operation of the State under the first constitution. These volumes will be prepared by the Indiana Historical Survey of Indiana University under the general editorship of Professor Samuel B. Harding, of the Department of History.
2. A volume on early travels in Indiana, under the editorship of Professor Harlow Lindley, aided by the staff of the Archives Department of the State Library.
3. A volume on the history of constitution-making in Indiana, prepared by Charles B. Kettleborough, the expert in the Legislative Reference Bureau. This will include the fundamental law of the State from the Ordinance of 1787 to the present time, with a narration of the facts and processes by which our constitutions have been made, together with the amendments that have been proposed and adopted and the judicial decisions relating thereto.

It is the hope of the Commission that these volumes can be produced ready to be offered as centennial publications before the close of 1916, and that this phase of the Commission's work will receive further encouragement and support from the State. The State should preserve and make accessible its historical materials in this way by the publication of many other such volumes. There are rich ores in the mines for our historical workers, and while the workman may die this is a work that should go on as long as the State endures.

I shall speak now of the Centennial plans. The committee charged with the centennial celebration under the leadership of Dr. Wynn, has done a great deal of work and has been fortunate in securing the co-operation of many clubs, societies, literary and commercial bodies and local organizations throughout the State. Public spirited men and women of talent and distinction in special directions are devoting time and thought to this cause.

At one of its meetings last spring the Commission decided to employ a director whose duty it should be to give his whole time to the work in organizing and directing the centennial activities, and to attend to the correspondence and to the means of publicity involved in such a State-wide enterprise. For this work, the services of Mr. C. W. Woodward, assistant professor of history in Earlham College,

have been obtained, and since the middle of June, Mr. Woodward has been giving his time to the work of securing public attention, of obtaining the co-operation of local agencies, informing public opinion in reference to the centennial celebration and in executing the decisions and plans of the Commission. He has been ably assisted by an executive secretary and expert stenographer, Miss Elliott, of Tipton.

The Commission held no meeting from June to September, but during these summer months, Mr. Woodward and Miss Elliott, assisted by Miss Dye and Professor Lindley, members of the Commission, did much to arouse public interest in the State in the approaching centennial by means of correspondence, leaflets, newspaper articles and other publicity agencies. They spoke in a number of county teachers' institutes in the State and Miss Dye before literary clubs and other audiences, asking the co-operation of teachers and citizens, and the county superintendents of schools. An Educational Committee of the Commission secured the hearty co-operation of the State Department of Public Instruction, and through Superintendent Greathouse, Mr. J. I. Hoffman and Miss Barnard of that office, suggestions and direction for the study of Indiana history were inserted in the school manual which is published annually for the use of the common schools of the State and which lays out their course of study. The History Section of the State Teachers' Association through Professor O. H. Williams, and Dr. Logan Esarey, of the State University, prepared a volume on *Readings on Indiana History* giving selections from interesting and important sources touching the past life of the State. This volume is published by the University and offered to the teachers and the schools at what it has cost to pay for printing. So I think it is safe to say that more attention is being paid in our public schools today to the history of Indiana than at any other time within the history of the State and that our children are learning far more of that history than was ever taught to their fathers and mothers.

The director employed by the Commission has given considerable attention to the organization of the counties. In nearly seventy counties of the State, a county chairman has been appointed, who has consented to head and to organize a county committee to co-operate with the Commission in promoting the general State-wide celebration and in arousing local interest and planning for local celebrations. Every community has its history. To

arouse and cultivate an interest in this history, to promote a knowledge of the community's past and some concern for its future,—these will prove worthy means and factors in realizing a suitable centennial celebration. Some notable local celebrations are now being planned by the people of their respective communities,—at Brookville, New Albany, Corydon, Evansville, Vincennes, Bloomington, Fort Wayne, and South Bend, and at many other places, and if one will but put his ear to the ground and be intent for news on this subject he will be impressed by the wide-spread and vital interest which is being manifested by the people of the State in the cause of reviewing her history and celebrating her foundations. By this time next year, we shall find all of Hoosierdom, from lake to river, awake and rejoicing in one great jubilee, celebrating the struggles of our past and the achievements of our present.

So far I have spoken of what the Historical Commission has done. This is but little compared with what is still to be done. What is planned for and hoped for, the future will reveal. We are just on the eve of great endeavors, but when I speak of these, I am in the field not of accomplished facts but of expectations and I can not, therefore, be so certain of my ground. Cortez is reported to have said when he burnt his ships behind him, that "some things should be done before they are even thought of." Perhaps some things should be done, or made sure of, before they are publicly spoken of. It is not certain whether all our aims can be realized, but plans are ripening which the Commission hopes soon to be able to announce, and if they come to full fruition, I feel justified in saying that Indiana's centennial celebration will not only be a pronounced success, but will prove to be one of the greatest educational agencies for revealing the past life of a people to itself ever attempted by any American commonwealth. I refer to the possibilities involved by the use of the pageant and the moving picture film.

Ten days ago at a meeting of the Commission at Corydon it was decided to have a State celebration in that town next May. At that time the First Constitutional Convention of the State will reassemble under the old elm as a part of a drama which will re-enact the "Birth of a State." Jonathan Jennings, the first governor of the State, will be there, presiding over the convention, and William Hendricks, the secretary, who became the second governor. This historic pageant amid the hills of Harrison county, will represent the community life of that little town as it was a hundred years ago.

There will be similar pageants in which whole communities will be concerned, in New Albany, Evansville, Vincennes, Bloomington, Terre Haute and other places. When the State Seminary, now the University, first opened its doors in 1824, the first and only professor in the institution faced the untutored boys sitting on the rustic benches, some without coats, some without shoes, some of whom had two "galluses" and some had one. That scene, like many others can be reproduced and the story of that early life as told by Baynard Hall in his famous book, *The New Purchase or Seven and a Half Years in the Far West*, will furnish splendid material for the pageantry of the stage. It will be put on at Bloomington, under the forest trees of the university campus for the people of the whole community and for all in the State who wish to come to see.

To stage this community life by suitable pageantry in various parts of the State will be no light task. It will require great labor and the direction of a master of pageantry, a man of expert knowledge and experience.

At the late Corydon meeting, Mr. Hugh McK. Landon, a public-spirited citizen of this city, made a report to the commission on the pageant plans for the centennial celebration. Mr. Landon had made careful inquiry into the subject and he recommended to the Commission the employment for the year of an expert and recognized pageant master to have complete charge of this phase of the centennial celebration, and he recommended that the State secure the services of Mr. William Chauncey Langdon, of New York, for this work.

Mr. Langdon is a pageant dramatist, born in Florence, Italy, who studied two years at Cornell University and later graduated at Brown University in 1892. He has for a number of years been a writer and consultant on pageant-drama. His wife is a scenic artist, and Mr. Langdon has been a successful director of pageants in New England, and was the assistant director of the notable Philadelphia Historical Pageant in 1912. It is expected that Mr. and Mrs. Langdon will come to Indiana, making their headquarters at the university where they will give instruction in pageantry and dramatization and train assistants who may prove competent to go to various parts of the State to give aid and advice in community efforts elsewhere. To meet the expense involved in securing for nearly a year such expert and artistic direction in pageantry, Mr. Landon in his report proposed that the Commission should provide for one-third

of the expense, the State University for one-third, and that he himself would raise the other third.

This arrangement was approved by the Commission and it will likely be entered into and it is expected that Mr. Langdon will soon be in Indiana to begin his task in preparation for this work.

The success of the pageantry enterprise will require the expenditure of much money and the devoted labor of many people. But Indiana has people with sufficient patriotic devotion, and the expense will be met in the various localities by the participation of the several communities in their willingness to promote an enterprise designed to enable them to witness the portrayal of their own history.

I come now to speak of the plans for the films and the motion pictures. A committee has reported a plan to the Commission. This committee consists of Dr. Wynn, a member of the Commission, Robert Lieber, of Indianapolis, a man who is always ready to promote municipal improvement and public enterprise, and Mr. George Ade, too well known to fame to need any designation here. These gentlemen are convinced that a moving picture can be devised illustrating the evolution of Indiana from pioneer days to the present time that will prove of immense educational value. It may be named the "Birth and the Growth of a State."

The production, while dealing with matters of local historical interest, will still have so many features characteristic of the whole history of the West, that the final product will prove to be not only of State-wide but of Nation-wide concern. It is intended that the whole production shall be upon the highest plane, true to history, properly staged, and as such it can indeed be made a means of Nation-wide instruction.

To bring such a plan to realization it will be necessary that a first-class producer should have direction of the work, having the advice and co-operation not only of the Commission but of such expert students of our historical lore as will enable the director to produce an artistic as well as a faithful presentation of the whole historical problem. Inquiry, preparation, and investigation, are going forward. The historical scenario is under way and when it is presented, Mr. Ade and Mr. Lieber of the Committee have volunteered to go to Chicago at an early date to visit concerns known to do high class work of this character, and the determination is fixed that we shall either have first-class motion picture films to reveal the story of Indiana history or we shall have none at all. We believe the

best is attainable. The best men and women in Indiana will offer their patriotic collaboration, and under such circumstances it is quite reasonable to believe that an expert film-maker may be found who will be willing to undertake on his own responsibility the getting up of these historic films.

If this plan can be realized what will the people of Indiana see? Let your imagination for a moment go back over the distant past.

Here is a scene of La Salle and his party and the fur-traders around South Bend, about 1680. Twenty-eight men appear dressed as wood-rangers, or *coureurs de bois*. A band of Mohican hunters come carrying their canoes and their furs, with Jesuit attendants from the open prairie. The scene can be reproduced and photographed true to life around South Bend.

Another scene, of farming at Vincennes, time about 1750. Two or more teams of oxen, wooden plow, long flexible beam, mounted on two wheels, other teams hitched to a wooden cart with two big wooden wheels made by sawing off sections of a log. Typical dress of the eighteenth century. Variations in the scene,—card playing, dancing, feasting, with plenty of snuff, tobacco, and spruce beer. The materials are at hand to reproduce such a scene.

Another scene: The capture of Vincennes, 1779. Rude stockade, loopholes for musketry, bastions, palisaded, main entrance facing the street. Fort defended by riflemen. Attack made by a band of 50 or 60 Virginians, no discipline, hunters' rifles of flint lock, frontier dress, hunting shirts and moccasins; desultory, though accurate firing. Peace parley between Hamilton, Clark, Bowman and Hay. Old Captain Helm strolls leisurely out of the fort to where the other men were in conference. Other soldiers come hurriedly and boisterously by, leading or dragging a half dozen or more of Indians whom they tomahawk and throw into the river.

This scene can be put before the camera down at Old Vincennes. I ask for space to suggest one more scene:

The Battle of Tippecanoe, November 7, 1811, upon the scene of the Battle Ground itself. The Purdue boys can stage this before the camera, true to life and with splendid effect. Five or six hundred white soldiers and a band of Indians numbering perhaps five hundred. Flint lock rifles; western militia dressed in militia uniform,—which is no uniform at all; regulars dressed in the uniform of the United States Rangers; soldiers sleeping on their arms; roused by a night attack and the war whoop of the Indians. Fusillades of musketry and the general incidents of a frontier battle.

American officers on horseback, otherwise no horses. Charge by Jo Daviess, in which he is killed. Indians press forward and some of them break through the lines. As the day dawns, they quietly slip away leaving one hundred or more Indians and soldiers scattered over the field.

This would be by no means the only scene that would be full of thrills for boys and girls and grown-ups of all ages. Life and motion, love and romance, achievement and glory, would permeate it all—together with scenes of the every day life and work of a frontier people—which, like grandfather's tales, will never pale nor grow old among the eager and inquiring children of today. A hundred or more of such scenes can be arranged illustrative of our history, and they can be developed in such order as to present an absorbing story vital with human interest. Old Ouiatanon, Hamilton's march to the relief of Vincennes, crossing the portage from Ft. Wayne to Huntington, the settlement of Clarksville, the organization of the Northwest Territory at Marietta, Ohio, a Territorial election, the Pigeon Roost Massacre, the Rappites at New Harmony, tavern scenes and the old log cabins, the camp meetings, the barbecues, the rifle matches, the stump speeches, the college exhibitions, the court trials, the circuit riders, the pigeon shooting, the charivari,—the boys marching to war or returning to their homes, the development of agriculture, transportation, and industry—all these can be reproduced and thrown upon the canvas to show the children of a new generation an ancestral life that seems now to be in the distant and buried past.

If these scenes can be staged by living persons upon the very scenes of their origins, photographed for films and thrown upon the screen, then in every city, town and village in Indiana where there is a moving picture show, the people of all sorts, ages, and conditions, may have brought before them as in panorama the chief features in Hoosier history.

"The past rises before me like a dream!" The past will come again, not merely as the orator recalled it from personal memory at Monument Place in 1876 as he recalled to the boys of '61 the days when they marched out to war. But a more distant past will return, far beyond the memories of living men. And as the Indiana of the present is brought before her past with its achievements, its memories, its trials, and its tears, she will pledge herself in consecrated devotion to the achievement of a better and nobler Indiana for the future.

## The Meaning of "Tassinong"

By JACOB P. DUNN, City Controller, Indianapolis

I presume that readers of the INDIANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY are interested in historical accuracy; and in this centennial period, when public attention is being focussed on our history, it is desirable both to correct errors that have crept into our history in the past and to prevent the introduction of new ones. For this reason any writer announcing a new discovery, or advancing a novel theory, should cite his authorities; and if he fails to do so his statements should receive close scrutiny.

On these principles, I venture to question the derivation of "Tassinong,"—the name of a village in Porter county—advanced by Mr. Hubert Skinner in his article, "The Era of Tassements, or Stockaded Trading Posts," in the September number of this magazine. He states that during the period of French occupation of the Mississippi Valley—1670 to 1763—the stockaded posts of the French were called *tassements*, and says that *Tassinong* is a corruption of this French word.

Mr. Skinner does not cite any use of the word *tassement* in this sense. On the contrary he says:

"The very word *tassement* has dropped out of use in both its French and English forms. It is not now to be found with the definition of 'palisade' in any dictionary or cyclopedia that is in use. It is rarely used in any sense. \* \* \* French scholars and teachers, people of wide reading and culture, will tell you today that they never heard or saw the word *tassement* in all their lives. You may search for it in vain in the modern French lexicons and cyclopedias. It is only in the rare writings of centuries gone that you can find it."

How remarkable! The word *tassement* will be found in any good French dictionary with its definition of a subsidence, sinking or settling, especially of a building; but never as meaning "a stockaded trading post." In the monumental *Grand Dictionnaire Universel*, of Larousse, which is supposed to give all obsolete and provincial words, there is no such definition. In the Abbe Coron's *Vocabulaire a l'Usage des Canadiens Francais* there is no such definition.

But, if in the French period "there were *tassaments* erected all

along the shores of the lakes and of the Mississippi and its eastern confluentes," as Mr. Skinner states, there ought to be common mention of them in the letters from these regions during the French period. I have had occasion to go through a large amount of that literature, but never found any mention of these *tassements*. In the large collection of letters and papers of this period, and this region, known as the New York *Colonial Documents* there is no mention of a *tassement*. In the Thwaites collection of *The Jesuit Relations*, 71 volumes, there are no less than sixty mentions of stockaded posts, forts, villages, missions, etc., but no use of the word *tassement*. They are usually called *palissades*, and occasionally *palissade de pieux*, *fort de pieux*, or simply *des pieux*. I submit that Mr. Skinner should specify the "rare writing" where he finds this word used in this sense.

As to the mode of corruption of the word, Mr. Skinner says: "By an old rule for rendering French words in English equivalents, the French syllable *ment* was always written *mong* in English, and in such words as this the middle vowel was represented by 'i' to make sure that the word would be pronounced in three syllables. Thus the English equivalent of *tassement* was *tassimong*." But, unfortunately, *tassement* is not pronounced in three syllables, and the "a" is not short; so that the English equivalent would be *tahss-mong*. Our verbal corruptions are usually on phonetic lines. We successfully corrupted *Lac du Chemin* to Lake Dishmaugh, and *Marais de l'Orme* to Mary Delome, but nobody could make *tassimong* out of *tassement* on phonetic lines.

Mr. Skinner gets rid of his "m" by saying: "Old maps of Porter county, likewise, are the last in the world to bear the name Tassimong, accidentally varied by the substitution of 'n' for 'm' and written Tassinong." But why old maps? Tassinong appears on recent maps of Porter county; and on what map, or in what document did Tassimong ever appear? And if such a change were made accidentally on one map, why was it perpetuated not only on maps but also in local usage? Mr. Skinner himself says: "The earliest settlers of the country always called it 'Tassinaw.'" Had they also accidentally substituted an "n" for an "m"?

But, if the *tassement* theory be discarded, can any rational theory of the derivation of *Tassinong* be suggested? I think so. In a history of Porter county published in 1882, in whose preparation Mr. Skinner assisted, I find at page 187 the following: "The town of

Tassinong, or Tassinong Grove, as it was formerly called, is indeed an ancient place. Its origin seems to be shrouded in obscurity. The whites trace the locality back to 1830, but the Indians spoke of it as an old place even then. *Not that there was any town, but simply a locality bearing the name.* It is probable that there was a French trading post here at a very early day."

Here is a plain statement that *Tassinong* is an Indian place-name, in a tradition recorded 33 years ago, and with no known reason for questioning the accuracy of the record at the time it was made. The name itself confirms the tradition, for the ending "ong" is the common Algonquian terminal locative—varied to onk, oong, ung, unk, ing, or ink, in different dialects and with varying phonetic ideas of white writers. The name evidently means the place of something; but of what? The place was originally called Tassinong Grove. A grove of what? If the place were in Miami territory I should guess "Place of Plums," for the Miami word for plum is *tassamin* (all the vowels short), in which "*min*" is the generic word for berry, seed or fruit, and "*tassa*" is the descriptive element. But this is Potawatomi country, and I do not know the Potawatomi word for plum. It might be the same as the Miami, for the two languages are very similar. If there were originally plum thickets in this vicinity, the probability of this meaning would be strong.

It is not, however, "probable that there was a French trading post here at a very early day." French trading posts were not so numerous as to escape mention easily; and they were established for business purposes, with two essentials: (1) they must be close to customers, and (2) they must have facilities for transportation of merchandise. In the early times transportation was almost wholly by water, and it would not have been good business to locate a trading post at an inland, out-of-the-way place like Tassinong, when there were plenty of accessible places within a day's journey.

Incidentally, while on the Indian subject, I would warn readers of the *Magazine* as to the absurd story of the cause of Pigeon Roost massacre by Herman Rave, published in the Indianapolis *News* of October 1. Those familiar with Mr. Rave's record as a newspaper faker would not be misled, but others might be. There is no occasion for doubt as to who perpetrated the massacre. It was the work of a war party of twelve Shawnees, led by Missilemetaw, who was captured a year later at the River Raisin, and gave the whole story to Colonel Johnson.

If there had been a suspected band of Delawares in the neighborhood, as stated by Mr. Rave, there would have been a second chapter to the story, for on the day after the massacre there were 200 frontiersmen gathered at the place, thirsting for vengeance. There were in fact no Delaware settlements nearer than the West Fork of White river. Mr. Rave's story of the cause of the massacre—that an Indian climbed a hollow tree in pursuit of a coon, and fell through a hole into the inside—ought not to attract much credulity. If he had said an Indian climbed a hole in search for a tree, and fell into a coon, people might have believed him. In reality there was no local cause for the massacre except the exposed situation of the settlement. It was merely a feature of the general outbreak, which was shown in the attack on Fort Harrison on the same day.

## Governor Harrison and the Treaty of Fort Wayne, 1809

BY ELLMORE BARCE, Fowler, Indiana

In the year 1800, William Henry Harrison was appointed by President John Adams as Governor of Indiana Territory, and he arrived at Vincennes on the 10th day of January, 1801, and immediately entered upon the discharge of his duties. At that time he was twenty-eight years of age, but notwithstanding his youth had seen hard duty as a soldier and officer on the frontier and had served as aid-de-camp to General Wayne at the battle of Falling Timbers. In that struggle he had distinguished himself for gallant conduct. At a time when a detachment of the troops were wavering under the murderous fire of the savages, and hesitating as to whether they would advance or retreat, he had galloped to the front of the line, and with inspiring words had cheered the soldiers on to victory. The report of General Wayne says that he "rendered the most essential services by communicating his orders in every direction, and by his bravery in exciting the troops to press for victory."

In personal appearance, Harrison "was commanding, and his manners prepossessing. He was about six feet high, of rather slender form, straight, and of a firm, elastic gait, even at the time of his election to the presidency, though then closely bordering on seventy. He had a keen, penetrating eye, denoting quickness of apprehension, promptness and energy."

Though descended from an old and aristocratic family of Virginia, and having been reared amid surroundings of luxury and elegance, the youthful soldier never shrank from the most arduous duty and the severest hardships of camp or field. At the time of his first arrival at Fort Washington (Cincinnati), after the defeat of St. Clair's army, he had been placed in command of a company of men who were escorting pack-horses to Fort Hamilton. The forest was full of hostile savages and the winter season was setting in with cold rains and snow. The company was ill provided with tents and Harrison had nothing to shelter him from the weather but his uniform and army blanket. He not only eluded the attacks of the

Indians and convoyed his charge through in safety, but made no complaint whatever to his commanding general, and received St. Clair's "public thanks for the fidelity and good conduct he displayed."

"During the campaign on the Wabash, the troops were put upon a half pound of bread a day. This quantity only was allowed to officers of every rank, and rigidly conformed to in the general's own family. The allowance for dinner was uniformly divided between the company, and not an atom more was permitted. In the severe winter campaign of 1812-13, he slept under a thinner tent than any other person, whether officer or soldier; and it was the general observation of the officers, that his accommodations might generally be known by their being the worst in the army. Upon the expedition up the Thames all his baggage was contained in a valise, while his bedding consisted of a single blanket, over his saddle, and even this he gave to Colonel Evans, a British officer, who was wounded. His subsistence was exactly that of a common soldier. On the night after the action upon the Thames, thirty-five British officers supped with him upon fresh beef roasted before the fire, without either salt or bread, and without ardent spirits of any kind. Whether upon the march, or in the camp, the whole army was regularly under arms at day-break. Upon no occasion did he fail to be out himself, however severe the weather, and was generally the first officer on horseback of the whole army. Indeed, he made it a point on every occasion, to set an example of fortitude and patience to the men, and share with them every hardship, difficulty and danger."

Of his personal courage in the presence of great danger and peril there can be no question. Judge Law says: "William Henry Harrison was as brave a man as ever lived." At Tippecanoe, after the first savage yell, he mounted on horseback and rode from line to line encouraging his men, although he knew that he was at all times a conspicuous mark for Indian bullets. One leaden missile came so close as to pass through the rim of his hat, and Col. Abraham Owen, Thomas Randolph and others were killed at his side. "Upon one occasion, as he was approaching an angle of the line, against which the Indians were advancing with horrible yells, Lieutenant Emerson of the dragoons seized the bridle of his horse and earnestly entreated that he would not go there; but the governor, putting spurs to his horse, pushed on to the point of attack, where the enemy was received with firmness and driven back."

To these traits, his fearless courage and willingness to share in the burdens and hardships of the common soldier, may be attributed his great and lasting hold on the affections of the old Kentucky and southern Indiana Indian fighters. To them he was not only a hero, but something almost approaching a demi-god. It is pleasing to remember that when the expedition against the Prophet was noised abroad, that Col. Joseph H. Daviess, then one of the most eloquent and powerful advocates at the Kentucky bar, offered in a personal letter to the general, to join the expedition as a private in the ranks; that Col. Abraham Owen, one of the most renowned Indian fighters of that day, joined the army voluntarily as an aide to its leader, and that Governor Scott of Kentucky sent two companies of mounted volunteer infantry under Captains Funk and Guiger, to participate in the campaign. It is also pleasing to remember that the warm affection of the pioneers of that early day was transmitted to another and younger generation who grew up long after the Indian wars were over, and who gave a rousing support to the old general that made him the ninth President of the United States.

On his arrival at Vincennes in 1801, the population of that town was about seven hundred and fourteen persons. The surrounding country contained about eight hundred and nineteen more, while fifty-five fur-traders were scattered along the Wabash, who carried on a traffic more or less illicit with the Indians. A large part of the inhabitants of Vincennes belonged to that class of French-Canadians, who produced the LaPlantes, the Barrons and the Brouillettes of that time, some of them renowned Indian interpreters and river guides, who figured prominently in the scenes and contests that followed. The remaining part of the population consisted of settlers from the States, the more conspicuous being the Virginians, who were afterwards denominated as the aristocrats, but who in reality contributed more to the growth and prosperity of the frontier post than any other element. From this class of Virginians, some of them men of learning and attainment, Harrison selected his retainers and henchmen. Chief among them were Benjamin Parke, one of the commanders at Tippecanoe, and the founder of the State law library in after years; and also Waller Taylor and Thomas Randolph, two of his aids in the Wabash campaign and of his immediate military family. These men, together with Harrison, comprised the "inner circle," who administered the affairs of Knox County and Vincennes, and at that time Knox County held the lead and control

in public transactions throughout the Territory. That they favored the suspension of the sixth article of the Ordinance of 1787, prohibiting slavery in the North-West Territory, is now established history, but they also organized the courts and the representative assemblies of that day; enacted and enforced the public laws, and set about to establish institutions of learning. Harrison in particular was a friend of the schools. Besides that, these men and their followers organized the militia, gave the woodsmen a training in the manual of arms, and exercised a wide-awake and eternal vigilance for the safety of the frontier. The military instinct of the early Virginian was one of the great factors that determined the conquest and established the permanent peace of the new land.

Probably no magistrate was ever invested with greater powers in a new country than was General Harrison in the first years of his governorship. "Amongst the powers conferred upon him, were those, jointly with the judges, of the legislative functions of the Territory; the appointment of all the civil officers within the territory, and all the military officers of a grade inferior in rank to that of general, commander-in-chief of the militia,—the absolute and uncontrolled power of pardoning all offenses—sole commissioner of treaties with the Indians, with unlimited powers, and the power of confirming, at his option, all grants of land." That he was left in control of these powers both under the administrations of President Jefferson and President Madison is sufficient confirmation of the trust and confidence they reposed in him. In the years to follow he was to conduct a great number of difficult negotiations with the chiefs and head warriors of the Delawares, Shawnees, Miamis, Potawattami, Kickapoos and other tribes, but in all these treaties he was pre-eminently fair with the savages, never resorting to force or treachery, or stooping to low intrigue or fraud. On the other hand copies of the old *Western Sun* amply testify to the fact that prior to the important Indian treaties of 1809, at Fort Wayne and Vincennes, he issued a public proclamation at the latter place, prohibiting any traffic in liquor with the Indians, so that their judgment might not be perverted; that he constantly inveighed against this illegal commerce with the tribes, and that he at various times attempted to restrain the violence of the squatters and settlers who sought to appropriate the lands of their red neighbors. The language of his first message to the territorial legislature reads thus: "The humane and benevolent intentions of the government, how-

ever, will forever be defeated, unless effectual measures be devised to prevent the sale of ardent spirits to those unfortunate people. The law which has been passed by Congress for that purpose has been found entirely ineffectual, because its operation has been construed to relate to the Indian country exclusively. In calling your attention to this subject, gentlemen, I am persuaded that it is unnecessary to remind you that the article of compact makes it your duty to attend to it. The interest of your constituents, the interest of the miserable Indians, and your own feelings, will urge you to take it into your most serious consideration and provide the remedy which is to save thousands of our fellow creatures. So destructive has been the progress of intemperance, that whole villages have been swept away. A miserable remnant is all that remains to mark the homes and situation of many numerous and war-like tribes."

Again, at Fort Wayne, on the 17th of September, 1809, preliminary to the famous treaty of that year, this entry appears in the journal of the official proceedings: "The Pottawattamies waited on the Governor and requested a little liquor, which was refused. The Governor observed that he was determined to shut up the liquor casks until all the business was finished." This is the conduct throughout of a wise and humane man dealing with an inferior race, but determined to take no advantage of their folly.

It was the steady and uniform policy of the United State government to extinguish the Indian titles to the lands along the Wabash and elsewhere, so that they might be opened up to the increasing tide of white settlers. Contrary to the practices of most governments, however, in their dealings with aborigines, the United States had established the precedent of recognizing the right of the red men to the occupancy of the soil and of entering into treaties of purchase with the various tribes, paying them in goods and money for their lands, while allowing them the privilege of taking wild game in the territory ceded. President Jefferson had always insisted on the payment of annuities in these purchases, instead of a lump sum, so that a fund might be created for the continual support of the tribes from year to year, and so that they might be enabled to purchase horses, cattle, hogs and the instruments of husbandry and thus gradually enter upon the ways of civilization. That the dream of Jefferson was never realized; that the North American savage never adopted the manners and pursuits of their white

brethren, does not bespeak any the less for the humane instincts of his heart.

In the negotiation of these treaties in the Northwest, Governor Harrison acted as the minister plenipotentiary of the government, and the numerous Indian treaties of that day were conducted under express authority and command from the City of Washington. The series of negotiations finally terminated in the Treaty of Fort Wayne on September 30, 1809, by which the United States acquired the title to about 2,900,000 acres, the greater part of which lay above the old Vincennes tract ceded by the Treaty of Grouseland, and below the mouth of Big Raccoon Creek in Parke county. "At that period, 1809," says Dillon, "the total quantity of land ceded to the United States, under treaties which were concluded between Governor Harrison and various Indian tribes, amounted to about 29,719,530 acres."

As the consummation of that treaty was the principal and immediate cause which led up to the great controversy with Tecumseh, and the stirring events that followed, including the Battle of Tippecanoe, and as the charge was subsequently made by Tecumseh that it was brought about through the threats of Winnemac, the Pottawattamie chief, it may rightfully be said to be the most important Indian Treaty ever negotiated in the West, outside of General Wayne's Treaty at Greenville in 1795. We will now enter into the details of that transaction.

That part of the lands acquired by the United States government by the Treaty of Fort Wayne, and being situate in the valley of the Wabash and its tributaries may be thus described: It lay south of a line drawn from the mouth of Big Raccoon creek, in what is now Parke county, and extending southeast to a point on the east fork of White river above Brownstown. This line was commonly called the Ten O'clock Line, because the direction was explained to the Indians as towards the point where the sun was at ten o'clock. The whole territory acquired in the Wabash valley and elsewhere embraced about 2,900,000 acres and in the Wabash region was to be not less than thirty miles in width at its narrowest point. It will thus be seen that the tract lay directly north of and adjoining the white settlements in and about Vincennes.<sup>1</sup>

There had been frequent and bitter clashes between the settlers and the Wea and Pottawattamie Indians of this part of the terri-

<sup>1</sup> Jacob P. Dunn, *History of Indiana*, p. 300.

tory for years. Justice and right was not always on the side of the white man. An acute commentator, speaking of the early frontiersmen, says: "They eagerly craved the Indian lands; they would not be denied entrance to the thinly-peopled territory wherein they intended to make homes for themselves and their children. Rough, masterful, lawless, they were neither daunted by the powers of the red warriors whose wrath they braved, nor awed by the displeasure of the government whose solemn engagements they violated.<sup>2</sup>

The Treaty of Greenville had given the undisputed possession and occupancy of all the lands above Vincennes and vicinity, and embraced within the limits of the territory ceded by the Treaty of Fort Wayne, to the Indians. They were given the authority by that pact to drive off a squatter or "punish him in such manner as they might think fit," indulging, however, in no acts of "private revenge or retaliation." No trader was even allowed to enter this domain unless he was licensed by the Government.<sup>3</sup>

It is needless to say that no fine sense of right and justice existed either in the mind of the white land-grabber or in that of his red antagonist. Many unlawful invasions of the Indian lands were made. Moreover, many of the fur-traders along the Wabash were of the lowest type of humanity. They employed any and all means to cheat and defraud the Indians by the barter and sale of cheap trinkets and bad whiskey and often violated every principle of honesty and fair-dealing. This kind of conduct on the part of the settlers and traders furnished ample justification in the mind of the ignorant savage for the making of reprisals. Many horses were stolen by them and often foul murders were committed by the more lawless element. This horse-stealing and assassination led in turn to counter-attacks on the part of the whites. In time, these acts of violence on the part of the vicious element in both races spread hate and enmity in every direction. This kind of history was made. "A Muskoe Indian was killed in Vincennes by an Italian inn-keeper without any just cause. The governor ordered that the murderer should be apprehended, but so great was the antagonism to the Indians among all classes, that on his trial the jury acquitted the homicide almost without any deliberation. About the same time, two Wea Indians were badly wounded near Vincennes by some whites without the slightest provocation. Such facts exasperated the In-

<sup>2</sup> Theodore Roosevelt, *Winning of the West*, IV, p. 32.

<sup>3</sup> *United States Statutes at Large*, Indian Treaties, pp. 115-116.

dians, and led to their refusal to deliver up Indians who had committed like offenses against the white men." These things occurred shortly prior to the Tippecanoe campaign, but a condition similar to this had existed for some time before the Treaty of Fort Wayne. The governor was not insensible to the true state of affairs. He once said: "I wish I could say the Indians were treated with justice and propriety on all occasions by our citizens, but it is far otherwise. They are often abused and maltreated, and it is rare that they obtain any satisfaction for the most unprovoked wrongs." But he also recognized the fact, that the two races, so incompatible in habits, manners, customs and tastes, could not dwell in peace together; that the progress of the white settlements ought not to and could not on that account, be stayed; that it was up to him as the chief magistrate of the Western country and as the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to solve if he could, the troubrous problem before him, and he accordingly instructed Mr. John Johnson, the Agent of Indian Affairs, to assemble the tribes at Fort Wayne for the purpose of making a new treaty.

There were many false sentimentalists at that day, who not unlike their modern brethren, wept many crocodile tears over the fate of the "poor Indian." They charged that the governor, in the ensuing negotiations, resorted to trickery, and that he availed himself of the threats and violence of Winnemac, the Pottawattamie Chief, in order to bring the hesitating tribes to the terms of the purchase. In the face of the revealed and undisputed facts of history, these charges were and are entirely false, and were evidently put in motion by disgruntled office-seekers at Vincennes as food for the foolish.

The position of Governor Harrison during the whole course of his administration seems to have been this: He sought to ameliorate the miserable condition of the savages at all times; sought by all means within his power to bring to punishment those who committed outrages against them; constantly demanded that the illegal traffic in liquor be stopped. However, neither Governor Harrison nor any other man, however powerful, could stop the hand of fate, or abrogate the eternal law of the survival of the fittest. After every endeavor to put a stop to abuses, and to quiet the impending storm on the frontier, he resorted to the next, and seemingly only available means of putting an end to the difficulty. That is, he provided for the separation of the two races as far as possible so as to prevent

the conflicts between them; he provided for the payment of annuities for their support and so that they might purchase horses and cattle and implements of husbandry, and thus enter gradually upon the pursuits of peace. That the plan was not feasible does not detract from the fairness and benevolence of its proposer. He was but following the uniform custom which the government had at that time adopted and which the best minds of that age indorsed. He could not foresee, in the light of that day, that the red man of the forest would not accept the ways of civilization, and that all attempts of the government, however charitable, would be wasted and in vain.

The governor set out for the council house at old Fort Wayne on the first day of September, 1809, on horseback, and accompanied only by Peter Jones, his secretary, a personal servant; Joseph Barron, a famous Indian interpreter, a Frenchman for a guide, and two Indians, probably Delawares of the friendly White River tribes. He traveled eastwardly toward the western borders of Dearborn county and thence north to the Post. Joseph Barron, the interpreter, is thus spoken of by Judge Law: "He knew the Indian character well; had lived among them many years; spoke fluently the language of every tribe which dwelt on the upper Wabash; understood their customs, habits, manners and charlatany well, and although but imperfectly educated, was one of the most remarkable men I ever knew."<sup>4</sup>

The governor arrived at the Post on the fifteenth of the month, at the same time with the Delawares and their interpreter, John Conner.

To appreciate properly the hazard of this journey of two weeks through an untamed wilderness, across rivers and through dense forests, camping at night in the solitude of the woods, and exposed at all times to the attacks of the savages, one must take into consideration that already Tecumseh and the Prophet were forming their confederacy and preaching a new crusade at Tippecanoe; that they were fast filling the minds of their savage hearers with that fierce malice and hate which was to break forth in the flame of revolt in a little over two years hence; that the British agents at Malden were loading the Indians with presents and filling their ears with falsification as to the intentions of Harrison; that they were already arming them with guns, bullets, knives and tomahawks, and that there were

<sup>4</sup> John Law, *History of Vincennes*, p. 100.

those among them who would not hesitate at assassination, if they might hope to reap a British reward. Notwithstanding these facts Harrison did not hesitate.

The scene about to be enacted was a memorable one. On the one hand were arrayed the governor, with his servant and secretary, four Indian interpreters and a few officers of the Post; on the other, the painted and feather-beddecked warriors and sachems of the Miamis, the Pottawattamie, the Delawares and the Weas. On the third day of the council eight hundred and ninety-two warriors were present; on the day of the actual signing of the Treaty, thirteen hundred and ninety. No such body of red men had been assembled to meet a commissioner of the United States since the treaty with Anthony Wayne in 1795. Even at that assemblage there were present only eleven hundred and thirty.

There were chiefs of the Mississinewa, loud and defiant, who openly declared their connection with the British. There was Win-nemac, the Pottawattamie who afterwards slaughtered the surrendered garrison at Fort Dearborn and boasted of his murder. There was Silver Heels and Pucan, Five Medals and The Owl. But above them all stood Little Turtle, the Miami. He had been present at the defeat of Harmar and the slaughter of St. Clair's army. He had fought against Wayne at Falling Timbers. In 1797 he had visited the great white father at Philadelphia, President Washington, and had been presented with a brace of elegantly mounted pistols by the Baron Kosciusko. There were braves present whose hands had been besmeared with the blood of innocent women and children—who had raised the savage yell of terror while setting fire-brands to the cabin and tomahawking its inmates.

During the days that were to follow there were many loud and violent harangues; parties of warriors arrived with presents of the British emissaries in their hands, and saying that they had been advised never to yield another foot of territory; at one time, on September 26, the Pottawattamie, in open assembly, raised a shout of defiance against the Miamis, poured out torrents of abuse on the heads of their chieftains and withdrew from the council declaring that the tomahawk was raised. Amid all this loud jangling and savage quarreling the governor remained unperturbed and steady to his purpose. Notwithstanding frequent demands, he constantly refused to deal out any liquor except in the most meager quantities—he restrained the Pottawattamie and made them smoke the pipe

of peace with their offended allies—he met and answered all the arguments suggested by the British agents—and after fifteen days of constant and unremitting effort won the chiefs of the Mississinewa and gained the day.

The official account of the proceedings as made by Peter Jones, secretary to the governor, and now reposing in the archives of the United States government, shows that instead of attempting to make any purchase of Indian lands when only a small number of representatives of the tribes were present, that the governor on the 18th of September, despatched messengers to Detroit to summon certain Delawares and Pottawattamies who were absent; that on the same day he also directed Joseph Barron to go to the Miami villages along the Wabash to call in Richardville, one of the principal chiefs of that tribe. The records also show that while the governor had some private conferences with some of the principal chiefs for the purpose of urging their support to his plans, that he addressed all his principal remarks to the tribes in open council of all the warriors, and at a time when four interpreters were present, to-wit: William Wells, Joseph Barron, John Conner and Abraham Ash, to translate his observations.

The first of these great councils was on September 22. The arguments of the governor, so interesting at this day, are thus officially set forth: "He urged the vast benefit which they (the Indians) derived from their annuities, without which they would not be able to clothe their women and children. The great advance in the price of goods and the depression of the value of their peltries from the trouble in Europe, to which there was no probability of a speedy determination. The little game which remained in their country, particularly that part of it which he proposed to purchase. The usurpation of it by a banditti of Muscoes and other tribes; that the sale of it would not prevent their hunting upon it as long as any game remained. But that it was absolutely necessary that they should adopt some other plan for their support. That the raising of cattle and hogs required little labor and would be the surest resource as a substitute for the wild animals which they had so unfortunately destroyed for the sake of their skins. Their fondness for hunting might still be gratified if they would prevent their young men from hunting at improper seasons of the year. But to do this effectually, it would be necessary that they should find a certain support in their villages in the summer season. That the proposed

addition to their annuities would enable them to purchase the domestic animals necessary to commence raising them on a large scale. He observed also that they were too apt to impute their poverty and the scarcity of game to the encroachments of the white settlers. But this is not the true cause. It is owing to their own improvidence and to the advice of the British traders by whom they were stimulated to kill the wild animals for their skins alone, when the flesh was not wanted. That this was the cause of their scarcity is evident from their being found in much greater quantity on the south than on the north side of the Wabash where no white men but traders were ever seen. The remnant of the Weas who inhabit the tract of country which was wanted were from their vicinity, to the whites poor and miserable; all the proceeds of their hunts and the great part of their annuities expended in whiskey. The Miami Nation would be more respectable and formidable if its scattered members were assembled in the center of their country."

The reasoning of the governor was cogent. That the British insisted on holding the frontier posts at Detroit and elsewhere so long, was directly attributable to their desire to monopolize the fur trade with the Indians. It was not so much their desire for dominion as their greed for profit. The traffic in skins was lucrative and the advancing stride of the American traders was viewed with jealousy and alarm. It was also true that the tribes along the Wabash were exhausting the supply of wild game. The plan of inducing them to accept annuities and to purchase cattle, hogs and other domestic animals for the purpose of replenishing their food supply seemed highly plausible to the minds of that day. That the Weas on the lower Wabash would be better off if removed from the immediate neighborhood of the white settlements where they could purchase fire-water and indulge their vices, did not admit of doubt. It was possibly the only plan of bringing relief from the troubles which were daily augmenting between the two races of men.

From the first, however, the appeal of the governor met with a cold reception at the hands of the Mississinewa chiefs. That their feelings in the matter were prompted by their jealousy of the other tribes present, and their claim to the sole disposal of any of the lands along the Wabash, there can be no doubt. Little Turtle was soon won over, but the younger and more aggressive chiefs of the Miami villages were hostile to him and openly expressed their disapproval of his conduct. The Mississinewa chiefs were also violently opposed

to the pretensions of Winnemac and the Pottawattamies. They claimed the Pottawattamies were new-comers and usurpers and had no right to a voice in the sale of the lands in the Wabash valley. The Mississinewa chiefs prevailed. On the 24th, the Miamis, "declared their determination not to sell a foot of land, observing that it was time to put a stop to the encroachments of the whites who were eternally purchasing their lands for less than the real value of them. That they had also heard that the governor had no instructions to make the purchase, but was making it upon his own authority to please the white people whom he governed."<sup>6</sup> On the 25th, the governor, to overcome their opposition, made another long appeal in open council, declaring that the British alone were responsible for the feeling between the races. On that occasion he gave expression to certain ideas that Tecumseh afterwards eagerly seized upon as an argument in favor of the communistic ownership of all the Indian lands, and as an argument against the sale of 1809. The governor said: "Pottawattamies and Miamis look upon each other as brothers, and at the same time look upon your grandfathers, the Delawares. I love to see you all united. I wish to hear you speak with one voice the dictates of one heart. All must go together. The consent of all is necessary. Delawares and Pottawattamies, I told you that I could do nothing with the Miamis without your consent. Miamis, I now tell you that nothing can be done without your consent. The consent of the whole is necessary."<sup>7</sup>

This second appeal met with the same reception as the first. On the 26th, the Miamis again declared that they would never consent to the sale of any more of their lands. "That they had been advised by their Father, the British, never to sell another foot." At this moment it was, that the Pottawattamies started a violent altercation, setting up a shout of open defiance in the council house and threatening to resort to force. On repairing to the governor's headquarters, however, and reporting their conduct, Harrison, "blamed them for their rashness and made them promise not to offer the Miamis any further insult."<sup>8</sup>

On the evening of the same day, the governor held another extended conference with the Miami chiefs, and explained to them that the British were to blame for all their troubles. His remarks were

<sup>6</sup> Journal of the Treaty of 1809 (Ms.), now in the state library, pp. 12-13.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16.

prophetic. He said: "In case of a war with the latter, (the Americans), the English knew that they were unable to defend Canada with their own force; they were therefore desirous of interposing the Indians between them and danger." The death of Tecumseh in a British uniform was part of the fulfillment of this prediction.

All the conferences proved in vain. On the 27th, Silver Heels, a Miami chief, was won over and spoke in favor of the treaty, and Harrison succeeded on the 28th in reconciling the Miamis and Potawatomi, but in full council on the 29th, The Owl, a Miami chief, flatly refused to sell an acre; made a bitter and sarcastic speech and among other things said. "You remember the time when we first took each other by the hand at Greenville. You there told us where the line would be between us. You told us to love our women and children and to take care of our lands. You told us that the Spanish had a great deal of money, the English, and some of your people likewise, but that we should not sell our lands to any of them. In consequence of which last fall we all put our hands upon our hearts and determined not to sell our lands." Harrison answered in a speech of two hours in length, and ended by saying, "that he was tired of waiting and that on the next day he would submit to them the form of a treaty which he wished them to sign and if they would not agree to it he would extinguish the council fire."

We now come to a circumstance which refutes much that Tecumseh afterwards claimed. In his famous meeting with the governor at Vincennes in August, 1810, and speaking of the treaty of 1809, he said: "Brother, this land that was sold and the goods that were given for it were only done by a few. The treaty was afterwards brought here, and the Weas were induced to give their consent because of their small numbers. The treaty at Fort Wayne was made through the threats of Winnemac; but in future we are prepared to punish those chiefs who may come forward to propose to sell the land."<sup>9</sup> The record of the official proceedings, made at the time, show, however, that immediately upon the close of Harrison's last speech of September 29, that Winnemac arose to reply, but that upon noting that fact, all the Mississinewa Miamis left the council house in contempt. Not only was the Treaty of 1809 concluded by a larger number of Indians than were present at Greenville, Ohio,

\* John Dillon, *History of Indians*, p. 443.

in 1795, but the influence of Winnemac with the Miamis seems to have been of a very negligible quantity.

The truth is that the final consummation of the pact of 1809 was brought about by the ready tact and hard common sense of Harrison himself. On the morning of the 30th of September, the very day the treaty was signed, it was thought by all the officers and gentlemen present that the mission of the governor was fruitless. No solution of the obstinacy of the Mississinewa chiefs had been discovered. Nothing daunted, Harrison resolved to make one more attempt. He took with him his interpreter, Joseph Barron, a man in whom he had the utmost confidence, and visited the camps of the Miamis. He was received well and told them that he came, not as the representative of the President, but as an old friend with whom they had been many years acquainted. "That he plainly saw that there was something in their hearts which was not consistent with the attachment which they ought to bear to their great father, and that he was afraid that they had listened to bad birds. That he had come to them for the purpose of hearing every cause of complaint against the United States, and he would not leave them until they had laid open everything that oppressed their hearts. He knew that they could have no solid objection to the proposed treaty, for they were all men of sense and reflection, and all knew that they would be much benefited by it." Calling then, upon the principal chief of the Eel River tribe, who served under him in General Wayne's army, he demanded to know what his objections to the treaty were. In reply, the chief drew forth a copy of the Treaty of Grouseland and said: "Father, here are your own words. In this paper you have promised that you would consider the Miamis as the owners of the land on the Wabash. Why then, are you about to purchase it from others?"

"The Governor assured them that it was not his intention to purchase the land from the other tribes. That he had always said, and was ready now to confess that the land belonged to the Miamis and to no other tribe. That if the other tribes had been invited to the treaty, it was at their particular request (the Miamis). The Potawatomis had indeed taken higher ground than either the governor or the Miamis expected. They claimed an equal right to the lands in question with the Miamis, but what of this? Their claiming it gave them no right, and it was not the intention of the governor to put anything in the treaty which would in the least alter their claim

to their lands on the Wabash, as established by the Treaty of Grouseland, unless they chose to satisfy the Delawares with respect to their claim to the country watered by the White river. That even the whole compensation proposed to be given for the lands would be given to the Miamis if they insisted upon it, but that they knew the offense which this would give to the other tribes, and that it was always the governor's intention so to draw the treaty that the Potawatomis and Delawares would be considered as participating in the advantages of the treaty as allies of the Miamis; not as having any rights to the land."

The governor's resourcefulness saved the day. There was an instant change of sentiment and a brightening of the dark faces. The claim of the Miamis acknowledged; their savage pride appeased, and their title to the land verified, they were ready for the treaty. Pucan, the chief, informed the governor that he might retire to the fort and that they would shortly wait upon him with good news. The treaty was immediately drafted, and on the same day signed and sealed by the headsmen and chiefs without further dissent.

Thus was concluded the Treaty of Fort Wayne of September 30, 1809. The articles were fully considered and signed only after due deliberation of at least a fortnight. The terms were threshed out in open council, before the largest assembly of red men ever engaged in a treaty in the western country up to that time. No undue influence, fraud or coercion was brought to bear—every attempt at violence was promptly checked by the governor—no resort was had to the evil influence of bribes or intoxicants. When agreed upon, it was executed without question.

## Minor Notices

### THE GRAVE OF DAVID ELKINS

It is not generally known that Rev. David Elkins, who preached the funeral of Nancy Hanks Lincoln, mother of Abraham Lincoln, is buried in a little country graveyard a few miles west of Mitchell, Ind. Such, however, is true history; and peeping out from among the accumulation of weeds and grass today may be seen in that little neglected country graveyard a modest little gravestone, only fifteen inches high, bearing the inscription "David Elkins, 2 S. C. Mil. War 1812."

The Lincoln family moved from Kentucky to Spencer county, Indiana, in 1816. Lincoln was then about 8 years old; about a year later the mother died. In those days it was not always possible to have a preacher in the neighborhood at the time of death and the memorial, or funeral sermons were often preached at some convenient time after the death. A few months after his mother's death he wrote to a Baptist preacher by the name of David Elkins, who was a neighbor of the Lincolns in Kentucky, and asked him to their home to preach his mother's funeral. Some months later Elkins concluded to comply with the request of the lad and in 1818 set out on horseback for the home of the Lincolns, almost 100 miles away.

Young Lincoln at the same time started to visit Reverend Elkins with a view to inducing him to come to Indiana and pay the tribute of respect that he felt was due the memory of his mother. Somewhere on the road the two met and Elkins returned with Lincoln and preached the funeral at the Lincoln home, which is near Lincoln City in Spencer county.

Elkins, who was a soldier in the war of 1812 moved to a farm about four miles northwest of Mitchell some time in the forties. He died in 1857 and is buried in the little cemetery above mentioned. It is remembered that Elkins often spoke of the 10-year-old lad who was so devoted to his mother. David Elkins is well remembered by a few people still living here. They are Judge W. H. Edwards, Henry J. Tirey, Thomas Tow and Aunt Phoebe Burton.  
—*The Mitchell Tribune*, Oct. 21, 1915.

## KIL-SO-QUAH, THE LAST OF THE MIAMIS, 1810-1915

KIL-SO-QUAH, the grand-daughter of Little Turtle, whom J. P. Dunn in his *True Indian Stories* characterized as the greatest Indian the world has known, was born in 1810 at Miami Park, one mile west of Huntington. Her death occurred Sept. 4, 1915, age 105 years. There is sufficient evidence to satisfy historians as to the accuracy of the year of her birth. She was the daughter of Little Turtle's son, Wok-shin-gah (the Crescent moon) and Nah-wa-kah-mo-kwa (the Snow Woman). The aged princess had translated her own name, which historians spell Kil-so-quah, as "The Setting Sun."

Her first husband was John Owl, who died soon after the marriage. She then married Antoine Revarre, a French-Canadian, and of the six children born to them two have survived her. Although born west of Huntington, Ind., Kil-so-quah lived practically all her life in Jackson township, one mile southeast of Roanoke, Ind. Wok-shin-gah owned a full section of land, which dwindled to the forty acres on which stands the little frame house that was the daughter's home, and where her son Anthony now lives. Anthony's Indian name is Wah-pi-mon-gwah (White Loon) and he is known to the Indians as Little White Loon to distinguish him from his uncle, White Loon, who died at the age of 110 years.

Two children survive. They are the above mentioned Anthony Revarre, who has cared for her for years and proven a true and worthy son in her fading days, and Mary Johnson of Oklahoma. The daughter, who left home some thirty years ago, was never heard of and thought to be dead by Kil-so-quah, until about two years ago (1913) through the efforts of Dr. S. Koontz of Roanoke, who had enlisted the aid of the federal pension department, she was found located in Oklahoma, the widow of a wealthy land-owner. The daughter visited with her mother soon after the facts of their relation were established and up to the time of Kil-so-quah's death she divided her time between her mother and her far western home.

In 1899 the little log cabin that was home to Kil-so-quah and Little White Loon burned to the ground. Many relics and curios of the Miamis and of the family were destroyed, some of them of great value to museums and collectors. Most prized by Kil-so-quah of the property saved were a little shirt and a pair of moccasins which her son had worn nearly sixty years before.

Kil-so-quah was of national prominence in all affairs relating to the American Indians. To make her the most interesting individual of the few survivors of the "royal" families of the vanishing race she had retained her native language and to a large extent the customs of the Indians through years of contact with none of her race but her son Anthony. She learned perhaps fewer than a score of English words, among them "rheumatism" was most frequently used. For years she had been afflicted by rheumatism and her association of the word with her painful ailment made it one of the few she could comprehend. Gout and rheumatism caused the death of her illustrious grandfather on July 14, 1812, at Fort Wayne.

Until rheumatism made her an invalid, no old settlers' meeting or like event was complete in this county without her presence. Seated on a platform she would smilingly receive the attention of curious crowds, not understanding the cause of her prominence, but being gratified by it. As an invalid, she was as pathetic a figure as history reveals. Practically ostracised by her lack of English, she alternated between an armchair and her bed. Hours, days and weeks she spent sewing diamond-shaped patches into star-shaped figures of great quilts. The writer has often found her sewing away at these when she could hardly see her hand a foot away from her eyes or know that I was in the room except through my conversation with Anthony. My father and I once gave her a fifty-cent piece for one of her patches and she sat for a long time, fondling it in her hands and laughing in a queer chuckle. She had cured my father of snake bite when he was a small boy and on the occasion of one of our visits Anthony asked her if she remembered it. After thinking a little she began to laugh and in her Indian tongue told Anthony she remembered well and even so distinctly as to tell whose son my father was.

During the last part of her life even the solace of work was taken from her by her near total failing of vision. All this she accepted, stolidly, uncomplainingly. Her own remark, translated by an interpreter, tells of her plight more clearly than all that has been written:

"When I am busy I think of my work; when I am idle I think how poor and alone I am."

None of the stimulating excitement and romance with which Cooper surrounded Uncas and his father in *The Last of the Mohicans* relieved her uneventful life. Last of the pure blooded

Miamis and descended of a long line of chieftains, she stoically dragged out the years in which a remarkable vitality kept life in her body.

Kil-so-quah held to the customs of her tribe and lived outdoors in her wigwam during the warm months until about ten years ago, when the tent fell into pieces from wear. She delighted in relating her early adventures and especially one soon after her marriage. Upon hearing the hounds she picked up a small hatchet and made her way to where the dogs had a large deer at bay, and from behind a tree she killed the deer with a blow of the hatchet. She said that the hunters toted the game away without offering her a mess of venison.

She had also presented a great many with curios, among which is a miniature canoe she made for Dr. Koontz in 1910 in appreciation of tobacco he had taken her.

About six years ago Dr. Koontz, William Koontz, James Barbour and Dr. Reed took up the bones of Kil-so-quah's husband and Chief Coesse, who were buried about sixty-three years ago. The bones of the former were preserved and kept at the office of Dr. Koontz and were interred with the remains of Kil-so-quah upon her summons to the happy hunting grounds.

The last public meeting Kil-so-quah attended in Roanoke was in 1910 on her one hundredth birthday anniversary, although as late as last year (1914) she attended the Old Settlers' Meeting at Columbia City. Last fall a reunion was held at the old homestead of all the Indians in the northern part of the State and about forty-five were present. A war dance was enjoyed and music furnished by Kil-so-quah with an old pan and stick.

Her death occurred Saturday morning at 3 o'clock, September 4, 1915. Her body was held in state at the Roanoke Catholic Church for one week when she was buried in the I. O. O. F. cemetery, the order of Red Men acting as pall-bearers. With the passing of Kil-so-quah to the happy hunting grounds there was lost the last of the full-blooded Miamis and perhaps the oldest resident of the State of Indiana. A subscription is being raised to purchase a historical monument to mark the place of burial.—ANSEL A. RICHARDS, '16, Indiana University.

## OUIATENON

(The following note was furnished Hon. A. O. Reser, State Senator, from Tippecanoe county) :

THE following was copied by Mr. Robert Hatcher, of Lafayette, from a journal of a Jesuit Priest, in the French archives at Paris:

"Ft. Ouiatenon is situated about 15 miles below Keth Tippekenunck, an old Indian village where the Tippecanoe flows into the Ouabache. It is situated on the north bank of the River Ouabache, about seventy yards from the margin thereof, at the foot of the rapids, and at the mouth of 'La riviere du bois rouge.'

With this description it has been an easy matter to locate the site of Ouiatenon, on a knoll, four miles below Lafayette. Numerous relics have been dug out of this knoll. Among them are Jesuit crosses, pieces of flint, an old musket, an old iron door, and a canoe carved out of Wa-hoo wood, with a metal tip. Buttons, pieces of cloth, flint, a gun lock, a crucifix and silver cross, found at a point near the knoll but further back from the river, indicate a Jesuit burial ground and it is known that at old Ft. Ouiatenon both the French and the Indians used a part of the elevation upon which it was situated for a burial ground.

Ouiatenon was the first fort established on the Wabash river. It was built in the year 1719 or 1720, ostensibly to counteract the influence of the English, and to keep the Indians in their power. After the battle of Quebec a treaty was made in which it was agreed that France should withdraw her garrisons from the posts on the Mississippi and its tributaries. Ouiatenon then ceased to be a French fort and passed into the hands of the English.

## FRANK B. POSEY

FRANK B. POSEY, lawyer, former congressman and for the last twenty-five years one of the most prominent Republicans in the First District, died at his home at Rockport, Ind., Sunday afternoon, Oct. 31.

Mr. Posey was born at Petersburg, Ind., sixty-seven years ago, being the son of one of the pioneers of Pike county. He was a lineal descendant of Thomas Posey, who was the first territorial governor of Indiana. The Posey family for years has been one of the most prominent and best known in Pike county.

Mr. Posey was educated in the Petersburg public schools and afterwards attended DePauw University at Greencastle, Ind., and the State University at Bloomington, Ind. He studied law and opened an office at Petersburg. From the start he was successful and during his long residence at Petersburg he figured in some of the most noted civil and criminal cases in the Pike county circuit court. His ability as an orator brought him a reputation both as a lawyer and a political speaker.

More than twenty years ago Mr. Posey moved to Evansville, where he formed a law partnership with Judge Hamilton A. Mattison. Later DeWitt Q. Chappell was taken into the firm, and the firm was known as Posey, Mattison & Chappell. Later Judge Mattison retired from the firm. When Mr. Posey was appointed surveyor of the port of Evansville, about ten years ago, he gave up the law practice and devoted all his time to the office. He retired from the surveyor of port's office about two years ago and soon after his retirement he moved to Rockport, where he formed a partnership with Fred A. Heuring, and his son John, the firm being known as Posey, Heuring & Posey.

Few Republicans in southern Indiana were better known than Colonel Posey. In 1888 he was nominated by his party for Congress in the First District and went down in defeat, his opponent that year having been Judge William F. Parrett, of Evansville. In that year General Alvin P. Hovey, who was serving in Congress, was elected governor of the State. This left a vacancy in Congress when General Hovey became governor in January, 1899, and a special election was called.

Mr. Posey and Judge Parrett were the opposing candidates in the special election and Mr. Posey was elected by about 1,300 majority. In 1910 Mr. Posey was again the nominee of his party for Congress and was defeated by John W. Boehne, of Evansville. This was the last race for office he ever made.

When Albert J. Beveridge was first elected to the United States Senate, in 1897, Colonel Posey was a candidate before the Republican caucus and was voted on for several ballots. In 1900 he sought the Republican nomination for governor, and received a large vote from the southern and central parts of the State. W. T. Durbin, of Anderson, finally won the nomination.

Mr. Posey for many years was vice-president from Indiana in the Ohio Valley Improvement Association, which organization has

as its object the improvement of the Ohio river with a movable system of locks and dams.

When he moved to Rockport two years ago, Mr. Posey selected one of the highest spots on the "bluff," where he might get a good look of the Ohio river, day after day and month after month. He loved the river, and he longed to see the time when steamboats would ply the streams in large numbers as of old, and this he believed would come with the improvement of the river.

When Mr. Posey went to Congress in January, 1899, to fill out the unexpired term of General Hovey, he was the central figure in what proved to be a noted contest. In the election in the fall of 1888 he had been defeated by Judge Parrett by less than thirty votes.

#### JOHN H. BAKER

JOHN H. BAKER, of Goshen, retired judge of the United States district court for Indiana, died at his home here Oct. 21. He was born in Monroe county New York, February 28, 1832. When a baby his parents moved to what is now Fulton county, Ohio, but which was then on the frontier. When a boy he helped his father on a farm. He was educated in the primitive schools of the pioneer days and then became a school teacher and out of his pay saved sufficient money to enable him, at the age of twenty-one, to take a course of two years' study in the Ohio Wesleyan University at Delaware, Ohio. When this preparation was complete he began the study of law at Adrian, Mich., and passing an examination before the Supreme Court of Michigan, was admitted to the bar in 1857. In that year he came to Goshen and opened a law office.

In the troublous days before the civil war he joined the new born Republican party and in 1862 was nominated and elected as a member of the State senate. He held a notary public's commission, however, and by the construction of the Democratic majority in the senate a notary public was declared the incumbent of a lucrative office and Senator Baker was accordingly ousted from the body. After a brief legislative experience he returned to Goshen to practice law.

In 1872 he aspired to the Republican nomination for congressman from the Thirteenth District, but through a combination on the part of three opposing candidates, he was defeated in the convention. Two years later he was successful in becoming the nomi-

nee. At the election he won by a small margin, the Democrats sweeping the State. He was renominated in 1876 and was re-elected by more than 2,000 majority, and in 1878 he was elected a third time with an increased majority. At the completion of his third term he declined another nomination and returned to Goshen to resume his law practice.

When James A. Garfield became President he tendered Mr. Baker the place of second assistant postmaster-general, an office for which he was peculiarly well fitted because of his experience while in Congress in investigating the "star route" contracts. However, he declined to give up the law for the appointment.

It was in 1892 that Judge William A. Woods, of Goshen and Indianapolis, was promoted to the United States circuit bench from the United States district court, and to fill the vacancy President Harrison appointed Mr. Baker, who assumed his duties March 29, 1892, and served with distinction until 1902, when he retired under the age limit provision.

At the time President Harrison appointed him, the salary was \$5,000 a year. Subsequently it was increased to \$6,000 a year, which amount Judge Baker drew up to the time of his death, the law providing that full salary shall continue in force following retirement under the age limit, the appointment having been for life.

In early manhood Mr. Baker married Miss Harriet E. DeFrees, daughter of Joseph H. DeFrees, of Goshen. Judge Francis E. Baker is the only child.

#### SIDNEY K. GANIARD

SIDNEY K. GANIARD, former state senator from Lagrange and Noble counties, died of Bright's disease November 3, after an illness of several months.

Mr. Ganiard was born on a farm near Howe, Lagrange county, September 22, 1870. He was graduated from the Lima high school in 1890, after which he taught in the country schools for a few years. Then he entered Indiana University where he completed a literary and law course. He was principal of the Lima high school for four years and of the high school of Monroeville, Ind., for two years. Then he quit teaching and took up the practice of law in Lagrange.

In 1904 Mr. Ganiard was elected to the state senate to represent the Noble-Lagrange District, and was a conspicuous member of the

Republican majority in the sessions of 1905 and 1907. He was author of the "blind tiger" law and of the present banking law of the State. He was elected prosecuting attorney for the Thirty-fourth Judicial Circuit, comprising the counties of Lagrange and Elkhart, in 1910.

JAMES E. CASKEY

THE owner and editor of the Greensburg *News*, James E. Caskey, died at his home in Greensburg, October 24. He was born May 12, 1853, at Richland, Rush county. He has lived in Greensburg since he was 14 years old. After serving as township trustee, and postmaster he purchased the *News*, December 1, 1902. He is best known as the editor of the *News*, being favorably known throughout the State.

Roy L. SHATTUCK

ROY L. SHATTUCK died at his home in Brazil, August 15, 1915. He was born in Brazil in 1871, being 44 years old at the time of his death. He was a lawyer by profession. He served as mayor of Brazil from 1903 to 1909. In 1912 he was defeated for the Republican nomination for congressman. In 1914 he was nominated but defeated at the polls.

RICHARD M. MILBURN

MR. MILBURN was born on a farm in Dubois county, September 24, 1865. His parents went to Dubois county from Kentucky many years ago. He was the eldest of three children, the other two being James S. Milburn, now living at East St. Louis, and Mrs. Hattie J. Beck, of Chicago. Mr. Milburn attended the public schools of Dubois county until he was 16 years old, and then studied two years at the State Normal School. Later he was graduated from the scientific course at the Southern Indiana Normal College, at Mitchell; the law department of Cumberland University, Lebanon, Tenn., and the literary department of Indiana University. He was superintendent of the public schools of Jasper in 1887, and from that time he was engaged in the practice of law at Jasper, until he came to this city to assume office as attorney-general, with the exception of two years that he spent as associate professor of law at Indiana University. He was elected state senator from Dubois and

Daviess counties, and served in the legislative sessions of 1903 and 1905.

He was a member of the Trinity Presbyterian Church at Jasper, in which he taught the Bible class for many years. He was also a member of the Masons, the Knights of Pythias and the Elks.

Mr. Milburn was married to Miss Lizzie Fowler, in Dubois county, in 1887, and to them five children were born, all of whom together with the widow, survive.

He was prominently connected with the Democratic party of the State. He was nominated and elected attorney-general by the Democrats at the last election. He had served less than one year at the time of his death at Indianapolis, November 9, 1915.

#### MEETING OF HISTORY TEACHERS

THE HISTORY SECTION of the State Teachers' Association held meetings at Indianapolis on the forenoons of October 28 and 29. At the first session the papers were grouped around the present condition of Europe. Prof. L. H. Gipson, of Wabash, read a paper on "The Underlying Causes for the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente." Howard V. Hornung, of the Clinton High School, read a paper on "History and International Relationships." P. P. Claxton, United States Commissioner of Education, discussed the topic, "Teaching History in Preparation for Citizenship." L. J. Bailey, Librarian of Gary, read a paper on "The Founding of Gary."

At the second session Prof. W. O. Lynch read a paper on "Indiana in the Middle Period." Logan Esarey followed with a paper on "Sources of Indiana History," and Prof. James A. Woodburn closed this part of the program with an explanation of the State Historical Commission and its plans for the centennial celebration. The latter paper is given in full elsewhere in this magazine. Others will perhaps appear later. Prof. C. B. Coleman presided over the meeting.

#### NOTICE

MANY editors have written concerning the material in this magazine and its use by them. The *magazine* is pleased to have any exchange use any article or parts of articles, only noting that it is copyrighted. It is copyrighted merely to protect it against purely commercial publishers.

## A CORRECTION

IN the article on "Vevay and Switzerland County," that appeared in the September issue of this *Magazine*, the author made the mistake of saying that Edward Eggleston was not born in Vevay, but a few miles below town. Since this was in print she has been informed by the sister of Mr. Eggleston that he really did first see the light in Vevay.

Another mistake, but in this instance a typographical one, was that the "Julia L. Dumont" Club was organized in 1866. This is claiming too much for our literary culture. It was really founded in 1886, which makes it still one of the oldest existing women's clubs in the State.

## Reviews and Notes

*History of the Underground Railroad as It Was Conducted by the Anti-Slavery League.* By COL. WILLIAM M. COCKRUM. J. W. Cockrum Printing Company, Oakland City. 328 pp.

COLONEL COCKRUM is the senior member of one of the most distinguished pioneer families of the State. He has spent his life up to the present on the old homestead. He and his father have had a true appreciation of historic records, as a consequence of which he is in possession of a large amount of data concerning the early history of the southwest corner of the State. What he publishes may and does have varying significance and value but it is the really historical matter. The present volume is of greater significance and of wider interest than the author's *Pioneer History of Indiana*. It deals directly with a phase of the slavery struggle of which not enough is known. It supplements and in some important respects goes beyond Coffin's *Reminiscences*. The result of Mr. Coffin's book, William Still's *Records*, and the later systematic treatise by Professor Siebert on *The Underground Railroad* has been a definite public opinion that practically the only "underground" activity was carried on through western Ohio and eastern Indiana. There has been some demur to this conclusion by writers acquainted with the lower Ohio river border of Indiana, but no satisfactory evidence could be uncovered. The volume of Colonel Cockrum furnishes in a large degree this evidence. The reviewer has not had the opportunity of examining the documents on which Colonel Cockrum's history is based but it bears ample evidence on its face of being a trustworthy story.

Colonel Cockrum has a pleasing way of expressing himself and tells a good story. The subject matter is intensely interesting which together with the simple and straightforward style makes a story that will hold any intelligent reader. It is extremely regrettable in this connection that a large number of simple grammatical errors have been allowed to escape the proof reader. In the eyes of many readers these minor defects will be permitted to mar the general excellence of the volume. Taken as a whole it is a most valuable contribution to our State history. It is hoped the author will not permit it to be the last of his contributions. L. E.

*The Critical Period 1763-1765.* Edited by CLARENCE WALWORTH ALVORD, University of Illinois, and CLARENCE EDWIN CARTER, Miami University. Volume X of *Illinois Historical Collections Series.* VII+597 pp.

THIS book of sources is the first volume of the British series covering the period of Illinois history from 1763-1778. It presents in accessible form documents scattered from the Mississippi to London, and except in cases where the originals were not to be found, all were copied directly or verified from the originals. The editor's introduction to the volume covers the period of 1763-1765 in excellent manner. The Sir William Johnson letters are of especial value since the loss of the Johnson manuscripts in the Albany fire. The documents are grouped under chapter headings, which serves to break the monotony often found with mere chronological arrangement. The eleven chapters deal with The Organization of the Western Territory, March to December, 1763; Banishment of the Jesuits; Proposed Colony of Charlottina; The Journal of M. Dabbadie, 1763-1764; Major Loftus' Attempts to Reach the Illinois, December 5, 1763, to April 9, 1764; Accounts from the Illinois, April 4, 1764, to June 29, 1764; The Regulation of Indian Affairs, July 10, 1764, to November 9, 1764; Letters About the Indians, October 8, 1764, to November 9, 1764; Close of the Indian War, November 9, 1764, to January 16, 1765; British Messengers are Sent to the Illinois Country, January 13, 1765, to February 24, 1765; The First British Agents Reach the Illinois Country, February 25, 1765, to July, 1765. The appendix contains a number of letters discovered too late to be printed in the proper places. The volume contains photogravures of Sir William Johnson, and General Gage, and some photographs of early trade licenses, etc. A complete index makes the volume very usable.

R. C. BULEY.

*County Archives of Illinois.* By THEODORE CALVIN PEASE, University of Illinois. In *Illinois Historical Collections*, Vol. XII, Bibliographical Series Vol. III. Published by Trustees of Illinois State Historical Library. Springfield, Illinois. pp. 730. 1915.

It is difficult to appreciate the amount of time and labor which a compilation of this sort entails. Convinced that the sources for the history of the State would be incomplete without a detailed account

of the materials of interest to the social scientist found in the various county courthouses of the State of Illinois, Mr. Pease set himself to this task.

The records of each of the 102 counties have been systematically and painstakingly ransacked. The exact location of every record, report and document was noted by the investigator. As a result one has only to turn to the pages of this Manual to ascertain the exact spot where the records of any county are kept.

In each county the records are arranged in the following order: County Clerk, Probate Clerk, Circuit Clerk, and Recorder, with the various subdivisions under each. By a system of abbreviations (explained in the Introduction) the exact location of all records is given.

A very brief sketch of the courthouse, the condition of the records, and frequently a criticism of the method of record-keeping employed in the county, precedes the outline of the materials, in each case.

The counties are given in alphabetical order, save Cook county, which is placed first because of its size. In examining the various county records two ends were constantly kept in view; the first was to appraise the historical value of the records and to list their contents for the benefit of future research; the second was to determine whether the records of the past were adequately protected from fire, damp and decay, and whether the records of the present are made by methods which insure both economy of space and permanence.

More than a hundred pages at the outset are devoted to the history of the County Archives of Illinois. In this history the editor traces the rise of the various record officers as well as the methods employed for record preservation and filing in the past. The author also sets forth some valuable advice upon archive keeping and gives a short sketch of the conditions of Archive Science in the United States. So far, effective application of archive methods to records of local jurisdiction has been confined to New England. A few years ago legislatures of Rhode Island, Massachusetts and Connecticut provided for commissioners of public records with general supervision over county and town records.

The author discovered that out of ninety-one county courthouses where records were kept, forty-four were not fireproof, ten were

doubtful. The recommendations and suggestions to county clerks and record keepers by a man who has worked through the great mass of Illinois county records, should be given due consideration. The author strongly urges the centralization of certain kinds of county records, as election returns. Often they are destroyed a few months after election. It is the opinion of the author that the county records can not be too highly estimated as a source of State and local history. The county records are of invaluable aid to a writer desiring to show the gradual progress of his State—how the present State came into being. These records bring one closer to the actual life of early Illinois. They help one into the spirit of the period. In the words of the author: "These records are the very incarnation of the State's past." Such a work upon the county archives of Indiana would aid greatly the work of those who are endeavoring to work out the history of Indiana.

R. BLANK.

*The Pioneers of Morgan County: Memoirs of Noah J. Major.*  
Edited by LOGAN ESAREY, Ph.D. Indianapolis, 1915. 285 p.

THE MEMOIRS of Noah J. Major constitute the fifth number of volume five of the Indiana Historical Society Publications. These *Memoirs* were written between the years 1900 and 1908. Mr. Major was born in 1823 and moved to Morgan county, then on the very frontier of the State, in 1832. From that date until 1911 the author lived near Martinsville, a pioneer who progressed with the country which he helped develop. Towards the end of a life which spanned the period in which central Indiana grew from an Indian hunting ground to a prosperous part of a modern State, Mr. Major looked back and gave us one of the best pictures of our pioneer life and institutions in existence. Occasionally his memory, which was unimpaired by time, was aided by visits to the State Library and reference to records. The first chapter deals with the First Settlers. The second chapter, dealing with the Home Life of the Pioneers is of especial interest. Courtship, Marriage, Housekeeping, Sickness, Hunting, etc., are told of in a most readable style made all the more vivid by a liberal use of the vernacular expressions of the day, and comparisons with modern methods. The hunting stories would provide an abundance of material for supplementary reading for school children. Chapters three and four consist of a discussion of Religion, Schools, Politics, Elections, and

Transportation. A series of short biographies of Morgan county legislators make up the last chapter.

Mr. Major was aided in his work by his wife who did the writing, or as she styled it, the "copying." Few counties are as fortunate as Morgan in having such an account of their pioneers.

R. C. BULEY.

*Ancestral History.* Compiled by I. BRASHEARS, a Retired Member of the Northwest Iowa Conference of M. E. Church. 21 pp., 1915.

THIS pamphlet contains brief sketches of two of the oldest families of the State of Indiana—the Hinmans and Brashears. Capt. Asahel Hinman was born in Connecticut in 1742 of Puritan parentage. He served in the Colonial Militia during the French and Indian War. In the Revolutionary War he was in continuous service until the close of the war. He fought with Arnold at Quebec, 1775, at Long Island, and with Washington at Valley Forge. He was a wealthy man for those times and spent most of his money for army supplies. The close of the war found him poverty stricken. The legislature of New Jersey failed to reimburse him as justice demanded. In 1790, with his wife and three children he migrated to the wilds of Kentucky to start life anew. After living more than a dozen years on land cleared and tended by himself, Captain Hinman and his family were forced to give up their hard-earned home, thanks to the poor system of private surveys and inaccurate plotting employed in Kentucky. About 1816 he moved to Warrick county, Indiana, dying there in 1825. He had five children, two sons and three daughters; the author, himself, is a grandson of Captain Hinman.

Samuel Brashears, the paternal grandfather of the author, was also prominent in early Indiana history. He was born in Pennsylvania in 1759. He became a member of one of Daniel Boone's exploring parties in the wilds of Kentucky. Some years later he settled in Bullitt county, Kentucky. He moved to Warrick county, Indiana, in 1816, settling a mile or so east of Boonville. He had six sons and a daughter. Ephraim Brashears, the father of the author of this ancestral history, was born in Bullitt county, Kentucky, November 5, 1795. He died at Boonville, 1876. He was a man of more education than the average pioneer. He was sheriff of Warrick county back in the days when the sheriff was tax

collector and went on horseback from house to house for that purpose. He married Miss Anna Harris Hinman, daughter of Capt. Asahel Hinman.

The history of the struggles with the wilderness, and the incidents narrated in the history of the Hinman and Brashears family are typical of the early Indiana pioneer life. We owe an enormous debt of gratitude to the pioneer families who prepared the way for present day civilization in Indiana.

The author himself, Ira Brashears, in a long life of 82 years, has taken no small part in the pioneer work of the nation, as a farmer, soldier and minister of the Gospel.

We wonder if Capt. Richard Brashears, who was left in command of Vincennes (then Ft. Sackville) by George Rogers Clark, 1779, belonged to this family of Brashears so active in our early State History.

R. BLANK.

THE HISTORICAL COMMISSION reports progress in its work of preparing for the Centennial. Mr. Langdon, the pageant master, is studying the State history and acquainting himself with the situation. County agents are pushing the work in most of the counties. Miss Dye is editing a story page in the *Sunday Star* in order to arouse interest among and furnish material to the school teachers.

*The Home and School Visitor* for the current year is running some interesting historical articles. Benjamin S. Parker tells "The Story of an Old Highway"—a description of the National Road. Professor Bogardus of the State Normal is contributing a series of articles on the States involved in the European War. Dr. Esarey of Indiana University is furnishing a series of articles on different phases of Indiana History.

*The Missouri Historical Review* for October, 1915, contains an excellent article on the "Fathers of the State," by Floyd C. Shoemaker. It is a brief history of the men who constituted the first constitutional convention of that State. Several of these men attained some fame in Indiana before going to Missouri. Henry Dodge was born at Vincennes, October 12, 1782. John Rice Jones was attorney-general of Indiana Territory, 1805, and gave us our first code in 1807. Alexander Buckner practiced law in Indiana before he went to Missouri. He also helped organize the Masonic

Grand Lodge of this State. John Scott was also well known in Indiana Territorial History. It is one of the most suggestive articles that has appeared in the magazines lately.

THE October number of the *Catholic Historical Review* contains Bishop Flaget's Report of the Diocese of Bardstown to Pius VII, April 10, 1815. It is given both in the original Latin and in translation. The Bardstown Diocese included Indiana at that time. Bishop Flaget had been the missionary at St. Francis Xavier at Vincennes, 1793-1795, and his report is therefore of the greater interest. This paper will supplement to some extent the *Life of Bishop Flaget*, by Spalding.

*The Life and Military Services of Brevet-Major General Robert S. Foster*, is the title of Number 6, of Volume V of the *Indiana Historical Society Publications*. The pamphlet was prepared by Charles W. Smith. It is the story of a Hoosier soldier who entered the Union army at the outbreak of the war as a captain in the Eleventh Infantry and came out a brevet-major general. The Eleventh Indiana served in the East for a short time under Lew Wallace. General Foster then became an officer of the Thirteenth. He commanded the division which supported Sheridan's cavalry as it took the position in front of Lee's army at Appomattox, and had the honor of being the last body of troops to face the army of Virginia before it surrendered. By typographical error the name in the half-title is "Robert S. Porter."

*The Indiana Forum*, a weekly Democratic newspaper, made its appearance at Indianapolis October 10. It is published on Sunday morning. It has a good appearance and a good code of principles. Horace H. Herr, formerly editor of the *Times*, is editor and publisher. It represents what it terms the Progressive element of the Democratic party. On its front page are pictures of Wilson, Marshall, Kern and Bryan.

*The Tennessee Historical Magazine* for September has two valuable contributions to western history. The first is a discussion of the "Old Nachez Trace," by Park Marshall. The second is the concluding selections of the "Winchester Papers." This is the third number of the magazine and if it continues as it has begun it will be a very acceptable addition to the family of State historical

magazines. There is no field in the West which surpasses that of Tennessee in historical interest.

*The Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for October has a rather unique article, a History of the Last Iowa General Assembly. The article is by Prof. F. E. Horack of the Political Science Department of Iowa State University. While time may perhaps alter the perspective of such history there can be no doubt of the value of such a calm, dispassionate, sympathetic study of a State assembly. It should help to bridge the gulf between our assemblies and what we think they ought to be.

ROBERT J. LEONARD, Professor of Vocational Education in Indiana University, has issued an exhaustive report on the city of Hammond as a basis for a program of elementary industrial and vocational education. As a survey of the city the book has considerable historical importance. It is published by the school board of Hammond. C. M. McDaniel is superintendent.

Two new teachers have been added to the Department of History at DePauw this year. Miss Katharine S. Alvord, A. M., of Cornell, becomes assistant professor, and George M. Stephenson, Ph. D., of Harvard, instructor. Professor W. W. Sweet is head of the department.

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The names of contributors are printed in small capitals, the titles of books in italics, and the titles of articles in quotation marks.

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